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THE

# WORKS

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OF

# Samuel Johnſon, LL.D.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S [illegible]

A NEW EDITION,

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

624

WITH

AN ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

BY ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ

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VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

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LONDON:

Printed for T. Longman, B. Law, J. Dodſley, H. Baldwin, J. Johnſon, C. Dilly, G. G. and J. Robinſon, P. Elmſly, J. Nichols, R. Baldwin, H. L. Gardner, F. and C. Rivington, W. Otridge and Son, W. Richardſon, B. and J. White, A. Strahan, Leigh and Sotheby, R. Faulder, G. Nicol, T. Payne, W. Lowndes, T. Evans, S. Hayes, G. and T. Wilkie, C. Davis, J. Matthews, T. Egerton, W. Fox, J. Edwards, P. M'Queen, Ogilvie and Speare, J. Scatcherd, I. Taylor Hookham and Co. C. and G. Kearſley, J. Walker, B. C. Collins, E. Newbery, Vernor and Hood, J. Deighton, Darton and Harvey, J. Nunn, Lackington, Allen, and Co. J. Stockdale, J. Cuthell, D. Walker, J. Anderſon, Clarke and Son, T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, J. Barker, W. Millar, *and* Murray and Highley.

MDCCXCVI.

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PREFACE

# P R E F A C E*

TO

## An ESSAY on MILTON's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his PARADISE LOST.

[ Firſt publiſhed in the Year MDCCL. ]

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IT is now more than half a century ſince the Paradise Lost having broke through the clouds with which the unpopularity of the author, for a time, obſcured it, has attracted the general admiration of mankind; who have endeavoured to compenſate the error of their firſt neglect, by laviſh praiſes and boundleſs veneration. There ſeems to have ariſen a conteſt, among men of genius and literature, who ſhould moſt

" * It is to be hoped, nay, it is *expected*, that the elegant and " nervous writer, whoſe judicious ſentiments, and inimitable ſtile " points out the author of *Lauder*'s Preface and Poſtſcript, will no " longer allow one to *plume himſelf with his feathers*, who appears " ſo little to have deſerved his aſſiſtance; an aſſiſtance which I am " perſuaded would never have been communicated, had there been " the leaſt ſuſpicion of thoſe facts which I have been the inſtru- " ment of conveying to the world in theſe ſheets."—*Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiariſm brought againſt him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himſelf convicted of ſeveral forgeries and groſs impoſitions on the publick. By John Douglas, M. A. Rector of Eaton Conſtantine, Salop*, 8vo. 1751, p. 77.

advance its honour, or beſt diſtinguiſh its beauties. Some have reviſed editions, others have publiſhed commentaries, and all have endeavoured to make their particular ſtudies, in ſome degree, ſubſervient to this general emulation.

Among the inquiries to which this ardour of criticiſm has naturally given occaſion, none is more obſcure in itſelf, or more worthy of rational curioſity, than a retroſpection of the progreſs of this mighty genius, in the conſtruction of his work; a view of the fabrick gradually riſing, perhaps from ſmall beginnings, till its foundation reſts in the centre, and its turrets ſparkle in the ſkies; to trace back the ſtructure, through all its varieties, to the ſimplicity of its firſt plan; to find what was firſt projected, whence the ſcheme was taken, how it was improved, by what aſſiſtance it was executed, and from what ſtores the materials were collected, whether its founder dug them from the quarries of nature, or demoliſhed other buildings to embelliſh his own.

This inquiry has been, indeed, not wholly neglected, nor, perhaps, proſecuted with the care and diligence that it deſerves. Several criticks have offered their conjectures; but none have much endeavoured to enforce or aſcertain them. * MR. VOLTAIRE tells us, without proof, that the firſt hint of PARADISE LOST was taken from a farce called ADAMO, written by a player; † DR. PEARCE, that it was derived from an Italian tragedy,

* Eſſay upon the Civil Wars of France, and alſo upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations, from Homer down to Milton, 8vo. 1727, p. 103. E.

† Preface to a Review of the Text of the Twelve Books of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's Emendations are conſidered, 8vo. 1733. E.

called

called IL PARADISO PERSO; and * MR. PECK, that it was borrowed from a wild romance. Any of these conjectures may possibly be true, but, as they stand without sufficient proof, it must be granted, likewise, that they may all possibly be false; at least they cannot preclude any other opinion, which without argument has the same claim to credit, and may perhaps be shewn, by resistless evidence, to be better founded.

It is related, by steady and uncontroverted tradition, that the PARADISE LOST was at first a TRAGEDY, and, therefore, amongst tragedies, the first hint is properly to be sought. In a manuscript, published from MILTON's own hand, among a great number of subjects for tragedy, is ADAM UNPARADISED, or ADAM IN EXILE; and this, therefore, may be justly supposed the embryo of this great poem. As it is observable, that all these subjects had been treated by others, the manuscript can be supposed nothing more, than a memorial or catalogue of plays, which, for some reason, the writer thought worthy of his attention. When, therefore, I had observed, that ADAM IN EXILE was named amongst them, I doubted not but, in finding the original of that tragedy, I should disclose the genuine source of PARADISE LOST. Nor was my expectation disappointed; for, having procured the ADAMUS EXUL of GROTIUS, I found, or imagined myself to find, the first draught, the PRIMA STAMINA of this wonderful poem.

Having thus traced the ORIGINAL of this work, I was naturally induced to continue my search to the COLLATERAL RELATIONS, which it might be supposed

* New Memoirs of Mr. John Milton. By Francis Peck, 4to. 1740. p. 52. E.

to have contracted, in its progress to MATURITY: and having, at least, persuaded my own judgment that the search has not been intirely ineffectual, I now lay the result of my labours before the publick; with full conviction, that in questions of this kind, the world cannot be MISTAKEN, at least cannot long continue in error.

I cannot avoid acknowledging the CANDOUR of the author of that excellent monthly book, the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, in giving admission to the specimens in favour of this argument; and his IMPARTIALITY in as freely inserting the several answers. I shall here subjoin some EXTRACTS from the xviith volume of this work, which I think suitable to my purpose. To which I have added, in order to obviate every pretence for cavil, a LIST of the authors quoted in the following ESSAY, with their respective DATES, in comparison with the DATE of PARADISE LOST.

# POSTSCRIPT.

WHEN this Essay was almost finished, the splendid Edition of PARADISE LOST, so long promised by the reverend Dr. *Newton*, fell into my hands; of which I had, however, so little use, that as it would be injustice to censure, it would be flattery to commend it: and I should have totally forborn the mention of a book that I have not read, had not one passage, at the conclusion of the life of MILTON, excited in me too much pity and indignation to be suppressed in silence.

" Deborah, MILTON's youngest daughter," says the Editor, " was married to Mr. Abraham Clarke,

" a weaver,

" a weaver, in Spitalfields, and died in Auguſt 1727, " in the 76th year of her age. She had ten children. " Elizabeth, the youngeſt, was married to Mr. " Thomas Foſter, a weaver, in Spitalfields, and had " ſeven children, who are all dead; and ſhe herſelf " is aged about *ſixty*, and *weak* and *infirm*. She " ſeemeth to be a *good plain ſenſible woman*, and has " confirmed ſeveral particulars related above, and " informed me of ſome others, which ſhe had often " heard from her mother." Theſe the Doctor enumerates, and then adds, " In all probability MILTON's whole family will be extinct with her, and he " can live only in his writings. And ſuch is the caprice " of fortune, this grand-daughter of a man, who will " be an everlaſting glory to the nation, has now for " ſome years, with her huſband, kept a little chandler's or grocer's ſhop, for their ſubſiſtence, lately " at the lower Holloway, in the road between Highgate and London, and at preſent in Cock-lane, " not far from Shoreditch church."

That this relation is true cannot be queſtioned: but, ſurely, the honour of letters, the dignity of ſacred poetry, the ſpirit of the Engliſh nation, and the glory of human nature, require—that it ſhould be true no longer.—In an age, in which ſtatues are erected to the honour of this great writer, in which his effigy has been diffuſed on medals, and his work propagated by tranſlations, and illuſtrated by commentaries; in an age, which amidſt all its vices, and all its follies, has not become infamous for want of charity: it may be, ſurely, allowed to hope, that the living remains of MILTON will be no longer ſuffered to languiſh in diſtreſs. It is yet in the power of a

great people, to reward the poet whoſe name they boaſt, and from their alliance to whoſe genius, they claim ſome kind of ſuperiority to every other nation of the earth; that poet, whoſe works may poſſibly be read when every other monument of Britiſh greatneſs ſhall be obliterated; to reward him—not with pictures, or with medals, which, if he ſees, he ſees with contempt, but—with tokens of gratitude, which he, perhaps, may even now conſider as not unworthy the regard of an immortal ſpirit. And ſurely, to thoſe, who refuſe their names to no other ſcheme of expence, it will not be unwelcome, that a SUBSCRIPTION is propoſed, for relieving, in the languor of age, the pains of diſeaſe, and the contempt of poverty, the grand-daughter of the author of PARADISE LOST. Nor can it be queſtioned, that if I, who have been marked out as the ZOILUS of MILTON, think this regard due to his poſterity, the deſign will be warmly ſeconded by thoſe, whoſe lives have been employed, in diſcovering his excellencies, and extending his reputation.

Subſcriptions
For the Relief of
MRS. ELIZABETH FOSTER,
Grand-daughter to JOHN MILTON,
are taken in by

Mr. Dodſley, in Pall-Mall;
Meſſrs. Cox and Collings, under the Royal Exchange;
Mr. Cave, at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell; and,
Meſſrs. Payne and Bouquet, in Pater-noſter-Row.

A LET-

A

# LETTER

TO THE

## Reverend Mr. DOUGLAS,

OCCASIONED

## By his VINDICATION of MILTON.

To which are subjoined,

Several curious original LETTERS from the Authors of the UNIVERSAL HISTORY, Mr. AINSWORTH, Mr. MACLAURIN, &c.

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By WILLIAM LAUDER, A.M.

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*Quem penitet peccasse pœne est innocens.* SENECA.

*Corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse Leoni,*
*Pugna suum finem, quum jacet hostis, habet.* OVID.

———*Prætuli Clementiam*
*Juris Rigori.*——— GROTII Adamus Exsul.

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First printed in the Year MDCCLI.

Of this pamphlet Mr. Lauder gives the following account:
" An ingenious gentleman (for whose amazing abilities I had con-
" ceived the highest veneration, and in whose candour and friend-
" ship I reposed the most implicit and unlimited confidence) ad-
" vised me to make an unreserved disclosure of all the lines I had
" interpolated against Milton, with this view, chiefly, that no
" future criticks might ever have an opportunity of valuing them-
" selves upon small discoveries of a few lines, which would serve
" to revive my error, and keep the controversy eternally alive.

" With this expedient I then chearfully complied, when that
" gentleman wrote for me the letter that was published in my
" name to Mr. Douglas, in which he committed one error that
" proved fatal to me, and at the same time injurious to the publick.
" For, in place of acknowledging that such and such particular
" passages only were interpolated, he gave up the whole Essay
" against Milton as delusion and misrepresentation, and thereby
" imposed more grievously on the publick than I had done, and
" that too in terms much more submissive and abject than the na-
" ture of the offence required.

" Though this letter, in many respects, contained not my sen-
" timents, as plainly appears from the contradictory Postscript
" subjoined to it: yet such was my infatuation at that time, and
" implicit confidence in my friend, that I suffered it to be printed
" in my name, though I was previously informed by one of the
" greatest men of the age of its hurtful tendency, which I have
" since fully experienced to my cost.

" That the gentleman meant to serve me, and was really of
" opinion that the method he proposed might probably prove ef-
" fectual for rescuing me from the odium of the publick, and in
" some measure restoring my character to the honour it had lost,
" I was then disposed to believe. His repeated acts of friendship
" to me on former occasions, in conjunction with a reputation uni-
" versally established for candour and integrity, left me little
" room to doubt it: though it is certainly a most preposterous
" method for a criminal, in order to obtain pardon for one act of
" felony, to confess himself guilty of a thousand. However, I
" cannot but condemn myself for placing so implicit a confidence
" in the judgment of any man, how great or good soever, as to
" suffer his mistakes to be given to the publick as my opinion."
*King Charles vindicated from the charge of plagiarism, brought against him by Milton, and Milton himself convicted of forgery and a gross imposition on the publick*, 8vo. 1754. p. 3. E.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

TO THE

# Reverend Mr. DOUGLAS.

SIR,

CANDOUR and tenderneſs are in any relation, and on all occaſions, eminently amiable; but when they are found in an adverſary, and found ſo prevalent as to over-power that zeal which his cauſe excites, and that heat which naturally increaſes in the proſecution of argument, and which may be in a great meaſure juſtified by the love of truth, they certainly appear with particular advantages; and it is impoſſible not to envy thoſe who poſſeſs the friendſhip of him, whom it is even ſome degree of good fortune to have known as an enemy.

I will not ſo far diſſemble my weakneſs, or my fault, as not to confeſs that my wiſh was to have paſſed undetected; but ſince it has been my fortune to fail in my original deſign, to have the ſuppoſititious paſſages which I have inſerted in my quotations made known to the world, and the ſhade which began to gather on the ſplendour of *Milton* totally diſperſed, I cannot but count it an elevation of my pain, that I have been defeated by a man who knows how to uſe advan-

tages

tages with ſo much moderation, and can enjoy the honour of conqueſt without the inſolence of triumph.

It was one of the maxims of the *Spartans*, not to preſs upon a flying army, and therefore their enemies were always ready to quit the field, becauſe they knew the danger was only in oppoſing. The civility with which you have thought proper to treat me, when you had inconteſtable ſuperiority, has inclined me to make your victory complete, without any further ſtruggle, and not only publickly to acknowledge the truth of the charge which you have hitherto advanced, but to confeſs, without the leaſt diſſimulation, ſubterfuge, or concealment, every other interpolation I have made in thoſe authors, which you have not yet had opportunity to examine.

On the ſincerity and punctuality of this confeſſion, I am willing to depend for all the future regard of mankind, and cannot but indulge ſome hopes, that they whom my offence has alienated from me, may by this inſtance of ingenuity and repentance, be propitiated and reconciled. Whatever be the event, I ſhall at leaſt have done all that can be done in reparation of my former injuries to *Milton*, to truth, and to mankind, and entreat that thoſe who ſhall continue implacable, will examine their own hearts, whether they have not committed equal crimes without equal proofs of ſorrow, or equal acts of atonement*.

* The interpolations are diſtinguiſhed by *Italick* characters.

PASSAGES interpolated in MASENIUS.

The word *pandæmonium* in the marginal notes of Book I. Eſſay, page 10.

CITATION VI. Eſſay, page 38.

Adnuit ipſa dolo, malumque (heu! longa dolendi
Materies! & triſte nefas!) veſana momordit
Tanti ignara mali. Mora nulla, ſolutus Avernus
Exſpuit infandas acies; fractumque remugit
Divulſa compage ſolum. Nabathæa receptum
Regna dedere ſonum, Pharioque in littore Nereus
Territus erubuit: ſimul adgemuere dolentes
Heſperiæ valles, Libyæque calentis arenæ
Exarſere procul. Stupefacta Lycaonis urſa
Conſtitit, & pavido riguit glacialis in axe:
Omnis cardinibus ſubmotus inhorruit orbis;
*Angeli hoc efficiunt, cœleſtia juſſa ſecuti.*

CITATION VII. Eſſay, page 41.

Illa quidem fugiens, ſparſis per terga capillis,
Ora rigat lacrimis, & cœlum queſtibus implet:
Talia voce rogans. Magni Deus arbiter orbis!
Qui rerum momenta tenes, ſoluſque futuri
Præſcius, elapſique memor: quem terra potentem
Imperio, cœlique tremunt; quem dite ſuperbus
Horreſcit Phlegethon, pavidoque furore veretur:
En! Styge crudeli premimur. Laxantur hiatus
Tartarei, diruſque ſolo dominatur Avernus,
*Infernique canes populantur cuncta creata,*
Et manes violant ſuperos: diſcrimina rerum

Suſtulit Antitheus, divumque oppreſſit honorem.
Reſpice Sarcotheam: nimis, heu! decepta momordit
Infauſtas epulas, noſque omnes prodidit hoſti.

Citation VIII. Eſſay, page 42, the whole paſſage.

*Quadrupedi pugnat quadrupes, volucrique volucris;*
*Et piſcis cum piſce ferox hoſtilibus armis*
*Prælia ſæva gerit: jam priſtina pabula ſpernunt,*
*Jam tondere piget viridantes gramine campos:*
*Alterum & alterius vivunt animalia letho:*
*Priſca nec in gentem humanam reverentia durat;*
*Sed fugiunt, vel ſi ſteterant fera bella minantur*
*Fronte truci, torvoſque oculos jaculantur in illam.*

Citation IX. Eſſay, page 43.

*Vatibus antiquis numerantur lumine caſſis,*
Tireſias, *Phineus*, Thamyriſque, & magnus Homerus.

The above paſſage ſtands thus in *Maſenius*, in one line.

Tireſias cœcus, Thamyriſque, & Daphnis, Homerus.

*N. B.* The verſe now cited is in *Maſenius*'s Poems, but not in the *Sarcotis*.

Citation X. Eſſay, page 46.

In medio, turmas inter provectus ovantes
Cernitur Antitheus, reliquis hic altior unus
Eminet, & circum vulgus deſpectat inane:
Frons nebulis obſcura latet, torvumque furorem
Diſſimulat, fidæ tectus velamine noctis:

*Perſimilis*

[library stamp]

*Persimilis turri præcelsæ, aut montibus altis*
*Antiquæ cedro, nudatæ frondis honore.*

Passages interpolated in *Grotius.*

CITATION I. Essay, page 55.

Sacri tonantis hostis, exsul patriæ
Cœlestis adsum; tartari tristem specum
Fugiens, & atram noctis æternæ plagam.
Hac spe, quod unum maximum fugio malum,
Superos videbo. Fallor? an certé meo
Concussa tellus tota trepidat pondere?
*Quid dico? Tellus? Orcus & pedibus tremit.*

CITATION II. Essay, page 58, the whole passage.

*Nam, me judice,*
*Regnare dignum est ambitu, etsi in Tartaro:*
*Alto præesse Tartaro siquidem juvat,*
*Cælis quam in ipsis servi obire munia.*

CITATION IV. Essay, page 61, the whole passage.

*Innominata quæque nominibus suis,*
*Libet vocare propriis vocabulis.*

CITATION V. Essay, page 63.

Terrestris orbis rector! & princeps freti!
*Cæli solique soboles; ætherium genus!*
Adame! dextram liceat amplecti tuam!

CITATION VI. Essay, *ibid.*

Quod illud animal, tramite obliquo means,
Ad me volutum flexili serpit viâ?

Sibila

Sibila retorquet ora ſetoſum caput
Trifidamque linguam vibrat: oculi ardent duo,
*Carbunculorum luce certantes rubrâ.*

CITATION VII. Eſſay, page 65, the whole paſſage.

——————— *Nata deo! atque homine ſata!*
*Regina mundi! eademque interitus inſcia!*
*Cunctis colenda!* ——————

CITATION VIII. Eſſay, page 66, the whole paſſage.

*Rationis etenim omnino paritas exigit,*
*Ego bruta quando beſtia evaſi loquens;*
*Ex homine, qualis ante, te fieri Deam.*

CITATION IX. Eſſay, *ibid.*

Per ſancta thalami ſacra, per jus nominis
Quodcumque noſtri: ſive me natam vocas,
Ex te creatam; ſive communi patre
Ortam, ſororem; ſive potius conjugem:
*Caſſam, oro, dulci luminis jubare tui*
Ne me relinquas: nunc tuo auxilio eſt opus,
Cum verſa ſors eſt. Unicum lapſæ mihi
Firmamen, unam ſpem gravi adflictæ malo,
Te mihi reſerva, dum licet: mortalium
Ne tota ſoboles pereat unius nece:
*Tibi nam relicta, quò petam? aùt ævum exigam?*

CITATION X. Eſſay, page 67, the whole paſſage.

*Tu namque ſoli numini contrarius,*
*Minus es nocivus; aſt ego nocentior,*

(*Adeoque*

*(Adeoque misera magis, quippe miseriæ comes*
*Origoque scelus est, lurida mater malè!)*
*Deumque læsi scelere, teque, vir! simul.*

[stamp]

CITATION XI. Essay, page 68, the whole passage.

*Quod comedo, poto, gigno, diris subjacet.*

Interpolation in *Ramsay*.

CITATION VI. Essay, page 88.

O judex! nova me facies inopinaque terret;
Me maculæ turpes, nudæque in corpore sordes,
Et cruciant duris exercita pectora pœnis:
Me ferus horror agit. Mihi non vernantia prata,
Non vitrei fontes, cœli non aurea templa,
Nec sunt grata mihi sub utroque jacentia sole:
Judicis ora Dei sic terrent, lancinat ægrum
Sic pectus mihi noxa. O si mî abrumpere vitam,
Et detur pœnam quovis evadere letho!
Ipsa parens utinam mihi tellus ima dehiscat!
Ad piceas trudarque umbras, atque infera regna!
*Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam!*
Montibus aut premar injectis, cœlique ruinâ!
Ante tuos vultus, tua quam flammantiaque ora
Suspiciam, caput objectem & cœlestibus armis!

Interpolations in *Staphorstius*.

CITATION III. Essay, page 104.

Fœdus in humanis fragili quod sanctius ævo!
Firmius & melius, quod magnificentius, ac quam
Conjugii, sponsi sponsæque jugalia sacra!

*Auspice*

*Auſpice te, fugiens alieni ſubcuba lecti,*
*Dira libido hominum tota de gente repulſa eſt:*
*Ac tantum gregibus pecudum ratione carentum*
*Imperat, & ſine lege tori furibunda vagatur.*
*Auſpice te, quam jura probant, rectumque, piumque,*
*Filius atque pater, fraterque innotuit; & quot*
*Vincula vicini ſociarunt ſanguinis, a te*
*Nominibus didicêre ſuam diſtinguere gentem.*

CITATION VI. Eſſay, page 109.

Cœleſtes animæ! ſublimia templa tenentes,
Laudibus adcumulate deum ſuper omnia magnum!—
Tu quoque nunc animi vis tota ac maxuma noſtri!
Tota tui in Domini grates diſſolvere laudes!
*Aurorâ redeunte novâ, redeuntibus umbris.*
Immenſum! auguſtum! verum! inſcrutabile numen!
Summe Deus! ſoboleſque Dei! conſorſque duorum,
Spiritus! æternas retines, bone rector! habenas,
Per mare, per terras, cœloſque, atque unus Jhova
Exiſtens, celebrabo tuas, memorique ſonabo
Organico plectro laudes. Te pectore amabo,
*Te primum, & medium, & ſummum, ſed fine carentem,*
O miris mirande modis! ter maxime rerum!
Colluſtrat terras dum lumine Titan Eoo!

Interpolation in *Fox*. Eſſay, page 116.

Tu Pſychephone
Hypocriſis eſto, hoc ſub Franciſci pallio.
Tu Thanate, Martyromaſtix re & nomine ſies.

Altered

Altered thus,

Tu Psychephone!
Hypocrisis esto; hoc sub Francisci pallio,
*Quo tutò tecti sese credunt emori.*

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Interpolation in *Quintianus*. Essay, page 117.

*Mic.* Cur huc procaci veneris cursu refer?
Manere si quis in sua potest domo,
Habitare numquam curet alienas domos.
*Luc.* Quis non, relictâ Tartari nigri domo,
Veniret? Illic summa tenebrarum lues,
Ubi pedor ingens redolet extremum situm.
Hic autem amœna regna, & dulcis quies;
Ubi serenus ridet æternùm dies.
Mutare facile* est pondus immensum levi,
*Summos dolores maximisque gaudiis.*

Interpolation in *Beza*. Essay, page 119.

Stygemque testor, & profunda Tartari,
Nisi impediret livor, & queis prosequor
Odia supremum numen, atque hominum genus,
Pietate motus hinc patris, & hinc filii,
Possem parenti condolere & filio,
*Quasi exuissem omnem malitiam ex pectore.*

Interpolation in *Fletcher*. Essay, page 124.

Nec tamen æternos obliti (absiste timere)
Umquam animos, fessique ingentes ponimus iras.

* For *facile*, the word *volupe* was substituted in the Essay.

Nec ſas; non ſic deficimus, nec talia tecum
Geſſimus, in cœlos olim tua ſigna ſecuti.
Eſt hic, eſt vitæ & magni contemptor Olympi,
Quique oblatam animus lucis nunc reſpuat aulam,
Et domiti tantum placeat cui regia cœli.
Ne dubita, numquam fractis hæc pectora, numquam
Deficient animis: prius ille ingentia cœli
Atria, deſertoſque æternæ lucis alumnos
Deſtituens, Erebum admigret noctemque profundam,
Et Stygiis mutet radiantia lumina flammis.
*In promptu cauſſa eſt: ſupereſt invicta voluntas,*
*Immortale odium, vindictæ & ſeva cupido.*

Interpolations in *Taubman*. Eſſay, page 132.

Tune, ait, imperio regere omnia ſolus; et una
Filius iſte tuus, qui ſe tibi ſubjicit ultro,
Ac genibus minor ad terram proſternit, & offert
Neſcio quos toties animi ſervilis honores?
Et tamen æterni proles æterna Jehovæ
Audit ab ætherea luteaque propagine mundi.
*(Scilicet hunc natum dixiſti, cuncta regentem;*
*Cælitibus regem cunctis, dominumque ſupremum)*
Huic ego ſim ſupplex? ego? quo præſtantior alter
Non agit in ſuperis. Mihi jus dabit ille, ſuum qui
Dat caput alterius ſub jus & vincula legum?
Semideus reget iſte polos? reget avia terræ?
Me preſſum leviore manu fortuna tenebit?
*Et cogar æternum duplici ſervire tyranno?*
Haud ita. Tu ſolus non polles fortibus auſis.
Non ego ſic cecidi, nec ſic mea fata premuntur,

Ut nequeam relevare caput, colloque ſuperbum
Excutere imperium. Mihi ſi mea dextra favebit,
Audeo totius mihi jus promittere mundi.

Eſſay, page 152.

*Throni, dominationes, principatus, virtutes, poteſtates,* is ſaid to be a line borrowed by MILTON from the title-page of HEYWOOD's *Hierarchy of Angels.* But there are more words in *Heywood*'s title; and, according to his own arrangement of his ſubjects, they ſhould be read thus.—*Seraphim, cherubim, throni, poteſtates, angeli, archangeli, principatus, dominationes.*

Theſe are my interpolations, minutely traced without any arts of evaſion. Whether from the paſſages that yet remain, any reader will be convinced of my general aſſertion, and allow, that *Milton* had recourſe for aſſiſtance to any of the authors whoſe names I have mentioned, I ſhall not now be very diligent to enquire, for I had no particular pleaſure in ſubverting the reputation of *Milton*, which I had myſelf once endeavoured to exalt *; and of which, the foundation had always

* Virorum maximus—JOANNES MILTONUS—Poeta celeberrimus—non Angliæ modo, ſoli natalis, verum generis humani ornamentum—cujus eximius liber, Anglicanis verſibus conſcriptus, vulgo PARADISUS AMISSUS, immortalis illud ingenii monumentum, cum ipſa feré æternitate perennaturum eſt opus!—Hujus memoriam Anglorum primus, poſt tantum, proh dolor! ab tanti exceſſu poetæ intervallum, ſtatua eleganti in loco celeberrimo, cœnobio Weſtmonaſterienſi, poſita, regum, principum, antiſti-



tum,

always remained untouched by me, had not my credit and my intereſt been blaſted, or thought to be blaſted, by the ſhade which it caſt from its boundleſs elevation.

About ten years ago, I publiſhed an edition of Dr. *Johnſton*'s tranſlation of the *Pſalms*, and having procured from the general aſſembly of the church of *Scotland*, a recommendation of its uſe to the lower claſſes of grammar-ſchools, into which I had begun to introduce it, though not without much controverſy and oppoſition; I thought it likely that I ſhould, by annual publications, improve my little fortune, and be enabled to ſupport myſelf in freedom from the miſeries of indigence. But Mr. *Pope*, in his malevolence to Mr. *Benſon*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his fondneſs for the ſame verſion, deſtroyed all my hopes by a diſtich, in which he places *Johnſton* in a contemptuous compariſon with the author of *Paradiſe Loſt* †.

From

tum, illuſtriumque Angliæ virorum cæmeterio, vir ornatiſſimus, Gulielmus Benſon proſecutus eſt.

*Poetarum Scotorum Muſæ Sacræ in præfatione, Edinb.* 1739.

A character, as high and honourable as ever was beſtowed upon him by the moſt ſanguine of his admirers! and as this was my cool and ſincere opinion of that wonderful man formerly, ſo I declare it to be the ſame ſtill, and ever will be, notwithſtanding all appearances to the contrary, occaſioned merely by paſſion and reſentment; which appear, however, by the Poſtſcript to the Eſſay, to be ſo far from extending to the poſterity of *Milton*, that I recommend his only remaining deſcendant, in the warmeſt terms, to the public.

† On two unequal crutches prop'd he * came,
MILTON's on this, on that *one* JOHNSTON's name.
Dunciad. Book IV.

* *Benſon*.] This man endeavoured to raiſe himſelf to fame, by erecting monuments, ſtriking coins, and procuring tranſlations of *Milton*;

From this time, all my praifes of *Johnſton* became ridiculous, and I was cenfured with great freedom, for forcing upon the fchools, an author whom Mr. *Pope* had mentioned only as a foil to a better poet. On this occafion, it was natural not to be pleafed, and my refentment feeking to difcharge itfelf fome where, was unhappily directed againft *Milton.* I refolved to attack his fame, and found fome paffages in curfory reading, which gave me hopes of ftigmatifing him as a plagiary. The farther I carried my fearch, the more eager I grew for the difcovery, and the more my hypothefis was oppofed, the more I was heated with rage. The confequence of my blind paffion, I need not relate; it has by your detection, become apparent to mankind. Nor do I mention this provocation as adequate to the fury which I have fhown, but as a caufe of anger, lefs fhameful and reproachful than factious malice, perfonal envy, or national jealoufy.

*Milton*; and afterwards by a great paffion for *Arthur Johnſton*, a *Scots* phyfician's verfion of the pfalms, of which he printed many fine editions. *Notes on the* Dunciad.

No fewer than fix different editions of that ufeful and valuable book, two in quarto, two in octavo, and two in a leffer form, now lie like lumber in the hand of Mr. *Vaillant*, bookfeller, the effects of Mr. *Pope*'s ill-natured criticifm.

One of thefe editions in quarto, illuftrated with an interpretation and notes, after the manner of the claffic authors *in uſum Delphini*, was by the worthy editor, *anno* 1741, infcribed to his Royal Highnefs Prince *George*, as a proper book for his inftruction in principles of piety, as well as knowledge of the *Latin* tongue, when he fhould arrive at due maturity of age. To reftore this book to credit was the caufe that induced me to engage in this difagreeable controverfy, rather than any defign to depreciate the juft reputation of *Milton*.

 But

But for the violation of truth, I offer no excuſe, becauſe I well know, that nothing can excuſe it. Nor will I aggravate my crime, by diſingenuous palliations. I confeſs it, I repent it, and reſolve, that my firſt offence ſhall be my laſt. More I cannot perform, and more therefore cannot be required. I intreat the pardon of all men, whom I have by any means induced to ſupport, to countenance, or patroniſe my frauds, of which I think myſelf obliged to declare, that not one of my friends was conſcious. I hope to deſerve, by better conduct and more uſeful undertakings, that patronage which I have obtained from the moſt illuſtrious and venerable names by miſrepreſentation and deluſion, and to appear hereafter in ſuch a character, as ſhall give you no reaſon to regret that your name is frequently mentioned with that of,

*Reverend Sir,*

Dec. 20, 1750. *Your moſt humble ſervant,*

WILLIAM LAUDER.

# REVIEW

OF A

# FREE ENQUIRY

INTO THE

# NATURE AND ORIGIN OF EVIL.

THIS is a treatise consisting of Six Letters upon a very difficult and important question, which I am afraid this author's endeavours will not free from the perplexity, which has intangled the speculatists of all ages, and which must always continue while *we see* but *in part*. He calls it a *Free Enquiry*, and indeed his *freedom* is, I think, greater than his modesty. Though he is far from the contemptible arrogance, or the impious licentiousness of *Bolingbroke*, yet he decides too easily upon questions out of the reach of human determination, with too little consideration of mortal weakness, and with too much vivacity for the necessary caution.

In the first letter *on Evil in general*, he observes, that, "it is the solution of this important question, "*whence came Evil*, alone, that can ascertain the "moral characteristick of God, without which there "is an end of all distinction between Good and "Evil." Yet he begins this Enquiry by this declaration: "That there is a Supreme Being, in-

"finitely powerful, wiſe, and benevolent, the great "Creator and Preſerver of all things, is a truth ſo "clearly demonſtrated, that it ſhall be here taken "for granted." What is this but to ſay, that we have already reaſon to grant the exiſtence of thoſe attributes of God, which the preſent Enquiry is deſigned to prove? The preſent Enquiry is then ſurely made to no purpoſe. The attributes to the demonſtration of which the ſolution of this great queſtion is neceſſary, have been demonſtrated without any ſolution, or by means of the ſolution of ſome former writer.

He rejects the *Manichean* ſyſtem, but imputes to it an abſurdity, from which, amidſt all its abſurdities, it ſeems to be free, and adopts the ſyſtem of Mr. *Pope.* "That pain is no evil, if aſſerted with "regard to the individuals who ſuffer it, is downright nonſenſe; but if conſidered as it affects the "univerſal ſyſtem, is an undoubted truth, and "means only that there is no more pain in it than "what is neceſſary to the production of happineſs. "How many ſoever of theſe evils then force them-"ſelves into the creation, ſo long as the good pre-"ponderates, it is a work well worthy of infinite "wiſdom and benevolence; and, notwithſtanding "the imperfections of its parts, the whole is moſt "undoubtedly perfect." And in the former part of the Letter, he gives the principle of his ſyſtem in theſe words: "Omnipotence cannot work contra-"dictions, it can only effect all poſſible things. "But ſo little are we acquainted with the whole "ſyſtem of nature, that we know not what are "poſſible, and what are not: but if we may judge

" from that conſtant mixture of pain with pleaſure, and " inconveniency with advantage, which we muſt ob- " ſerve in every thing round us, we have reaſon to " conclude, that to endue created beings with perfec- " tion, that is, to produce Good excluſive of Evil, " is one of thoſe impoſſibilities which even infinite " power cannot accompliſh."

This is elegant and acute, but will by no means calm diſcontent, or ſilence curioſity; for whether Evil can be wholly ſeparated from Good or not, it is plain that they may be mixed in various degrees, and as far as human eyes can judge, the degree of Evil might have been leſs without any impediment to good.

The ſecond Letter *on the evils of imperfection*, is little more than a paraphraſe of *Pope*'s Epiſtles, or yet leſs than a paraphraſe, a mere tranſlation of poetry into proſe. This is ſurely to attack difficulty with very diſproportionate abilities, to cut the *Gordian* knot with very blunt inſtruments. When we are told of the inſufficiency of former ſolutions, why is one of the lateſt, which no man can have forgotten, given us again? I am told, that this pamphlet is not the effort of hunger: what can it be then but the product of vanity? and yet how can vanity be gratified by plagiariſm, or tranſcription? When this ſpeculatiſt finds himſelf prompted to another performance, let him conſider whether he is about to diſburthen his mind, or employ his fingers; and if I might venture to offer him a ſubject, I ſhould wiſh that he would ſolve this queſtion, Why he that has nothing to write, ſhould deſire to be a writer?

Yet

Yet is not this Letter without ſome ſentiments, which, though not new, are of great importance, and may be read with pleaſure in the thouſandth repetition.

" Whatever we enjoy is purely a free gift from our " Creator; but that we enjoy no more, can never " ſure be deemed an injury, or a juſt reaſon to queſ- " tion his infinite benevolence. All our happineſs is " owing to his goodneſs; but that it is no greater, " is owing only to ourſelves; that is, to our not " having any inherent right to any happineſs, or " even to any exiſtence at all. This is no more to " be imputed to God, than the wants of a beggar to " the perſon who has relieved him: that he had " ſomething, was owing to his benefactor; but that " he had no more, only to his own original poverty."

Thus far he ſpeaks what every man muſt approve, and what every wiſe man has ſaid before him. He then gives us the ſyſtem of ſubordination, not invented, for it was known I think to the *Arabian* metaphyſicians, but adopted by *Pope*; and from him borrowed by the diligent reſearches of this great inveſtigator.

" No ſyſtem can poſſibly be formed, even in " imagination, without a ſubordination of parts. " Every animal body muſt have different members " ſubſervient to each other; every picture muſt be " compoſed of various colours, and of light and " ſhade; all harmony muſt be formed of trebles, " tenors, and baſſes; every beautiful and uſeful edi- " fice muſt conſiſt of higher and lower, more and " leſs magnificent apartments. This is in the very

" eſſence

"essence of all created things, and therefore cannot "be prevented by any means whatever, unless by not "creating them at all."

These instances are used instead of *Pope*'s *Oak* and *Weeds*, or *Jupiter* and his *Satellites*; but neither *Pope*, nor this writer, have much contributed to solve the difficulty. Perfection or imperfection of unconscious beings has no meaning as referred to themselves; the *bass* and the *treble* are equally perfect; the mean and magnificent apartments feel no pleasure or pain from the comparison. *Pope* might ask the *weed*, why it was less than the *Oak*, but the *weed* would never ask the question for itself. The *bass* and *treble* differ only to the hearer, meanness and magnificence only to the inhabitant. There is no Evil but must inhere in a conscious being, or be referred to it; that is, Evil must be felt before it is Evil. Yet even on this subject many questions might be offered which human understanding has not yet answered, and which the present haste of this extract will not suffer me to dilate.

He proceeds to an humble detail of *Pope*'s opinion: "The universe is a system whose very essence consists "in subordination; a scale of beings descending by "insensible degrees from infinite perfection to abso-"lute nothing; in which, though we may justly "expect to find perfection in the whole, could we "possibly comprehend it; yet would it be the highest "absurdity to hope for it in all its parts, because the "beauty and happiness of the whole depend altoge-"ther on the just inferiority of its parts, that is, on "the comparative imperfections of the several beings "of which it is composed."

" It would have been no more an inſtance of God's " wiſdom to have created no beings but of the higheſt " and moſt perfect order, than it would be of a " painter's art to cover his whole piece with one " ſingle colour, the moſt beautiful he could compoſe. " Had he confined himſelf to ſuch, nothing could " have exiſted but demi-gods, or arch-angels, and " then all inferior orders muſt have been void and " uninhabited: but as it is ſurely more agreeable to " infinite Benevolence, that all theſe ſhould be filled " up with beings capable of enjoying happineſs them- " ſelves, and contributing to that of others, they muſt " neceſſarily be filled with inferior beings, that is, " with ſuch as are leſs perfect, but from whoſe " exiſtence, notwithſtanding that leſs perfection, " more felicity upon the whole accrues to the uni- " verſe, than if no ſuch had been created. It is " moreover highly probable, that there is ſuch a " connection between all ranks and orders by ſubor- " dinate degrees, that they mutually ſupport each " other's exiſtence, and every one in its place is ab- " ſolutely neceſſary towards ſuſtaining the whole vaſt " and magnificent fabrick.

" Our pretences for complaint could be of this " only, that we are not ſo high in the ſcale of ex- " iſtence as our ignorant ambition may deſire; a " pretence which muſt eternally ſubſiſt; becauſe, " were we ever ſo much higher, there would be ſtill " room for infinite power to exalt us; and ſince no " link in the chain can be broke, the ſame reaſon " for diſquiet muſt remain to thoſe who ſucceed to " that chaſm, which muſt be occaſioned by our pre-

" ferment.

" ferment. A man can have no reaſon to repine that
" he is not an angel; nor a horſe that he is not a
" man; much leſs, that in their ſeveral ſtations they
" poſſeſs not the faculties of another; for this would
" be an inſufferable misfortune."

This doctrine of the regular ſubordination of beings, the ſcale of exiſtence, and the chain of nature, I have often conſidered, but always left the enquiry in doubt and uncertainty.

That every being not infinite, compared with infinity, muſt be imperfect, is evident to intuition; that whatever is imperfect muſt have a certain line which it cannot paſs, is equally certain. But the reaſon which determined this limit, and for which ſuch being was ſuffered to advance thus far and no farther, we ſhall never be able to diſcern. Our diſcoverers tell us, the Creator has made beings of all orders, and that therefore one of them muſt be ſuch as man. But this ſyſtem ſeems to be eſtabliſhed on a conceſſion, which, if it be refuſed, cannot be extorted.

Every reaſon which can be brought to prove, that there are beings of every poſſible ſort, will prove that there is the greateſt number poſſible of every ſort of beings; but this with reſpect to man we know, if we know any thing, not to be true.

It does not appear even to the imagination, that of three orders of being, the firſt and the third receive any advantage from the imperfection of the ſecond, or that indeed they may not equally exiſt, though the ſecond had never been, or ſhould ceaſe to be, and why ſhould that be concluded neceſſary, which cannot be proved even to be uſeful?

The ſcale of exiſtence from infinity to nothing, cannot poſſibly have being. The higheſt being not infinite muſt be, as has been often obſerved, at an infinite diſtance below infinity. *Cheyne*, who, with the deſire inherent in mathematicians to reduce every thing to mathematical images, conſiders all exiſtence as a *cone*, allows that the baſis is at an infinite diſtance from the body. And in this diſtance between finite and infinite, there will be room for ever for an infinite ſeries of indefinable exiſtence.

Between the loweſt poſitive exiſtence and nothing, wherever we ſuppoſe poſitive exiſtence to ceaſe, is another chaſm infinitely deep; where there is room again for endleſs orders of ſubordinate nature, continued for ever and for ever, and yet infinitely ſuperior to non-exiſtence.

To theſe meditations humanity is unequal. But yet we may aſk, not of our Maker, but of each other, ſince on the one ſide creation, wherever it ſtops, muſt ſtop infinitely below infinity, and on the other infinitely above nothing, what neceſſity there is that it ſhould proceed ſo far either way, that beings ſo high or ſo low ſhould ever have exiſted? We may aſk; but I believe no created wiſdom can give an adequate anſwer.

Nor is this all. In the ſcale, wherever it begins or ends, are infinite vacuities. At whatever diſtance we ſuppoſe the next order of beings to be above man, there is room for an intermediate order of beings between them; and if for one order, then for infinite orders; ſince every thing that admits of more or leſs, and conſequently all the parts of that which admits them, may be infinitely divided. So that,

that, as far as we can judge, there may be room in the vacuity between any two ſteps of the ſcale, or between any two points of the cone of being for infinite exertion of infinite power.

Thus it appears how little reaſon thoſe who repoſe their reaſon upon the ſcale of being have to triumph over them who recur to any other expedient of ſolution, and what difficulties ariſe on every ſide to repreſs the rebellions of preſumptuous deciſion. *Qui pauca conſiderat, facile pronunciat.* In our paſſage through the boundleſs ocean of diſquiſition we often take fogs for land, and after having long toiled to approach them, find, inſtead of repoſe and harbours, new ſtorms of objection, and fluctuations of uncertainty.

We are next entertained with *Pope*'s alleviations of thoſe evils which we are doomed to ſuffer.

" Poverty, or the want of riches, is generally com-
" penſated by having more hopes, and fewer fears,
" by a greater ſhare of health, and a more exqui-
" ſite reliſh of the ſmalleſt enjoyments, than thoſe
" who poſſeſs them are uſually bleſſed with. The
" want of taſte and genius, with all the pleaſures that
" ariſe from them, are commonly recompenſed by a
" more uſeful kind of common ſenſe, together with a
" wonderful delight, as well as ſucceſs, in the buſy
" purſuits of a ſcrambling world. The ſufferings of
" the ſick are greatly relieved by many trifling gra-
" tifications imperceptible to others, and ſometimes
" almoſt repaid by the inconceivable tranſports occa-
" ſioned by the return of health and vigour. Folly
" cannot be very grievous, becauſe imperceptible;
" and I doubt not but there is ſome truth in that rant
" of

" of a mad poet, that there is a pleaſure in being " mad, which none but madmen know. Ignorance, " or the want of knowledge and literature, the " appointed lot of all born to poverty, and the " drudgeries of life, is the only opiate capable of in- " fuſing that inſenſibility which can enable them to " endure the miſeries of the one, and the fatigues of " the other. It is a cordial adminiſtered by the gra- " cious hand of Providence; of which they ought " never to be deprived by an ill-judged and impro- " per education. It is the baſis of all ſubordination, " the ſupport of ſociety, and the privilege of indi- " viduals: and I have ever thought it a moſt re- " markable inſtance of the divine wiſdom, that " whereas in all animals, whoſe individuals riſe little " above the reſt of their ſpecies, knowledge is in- " ſtinctive; in man, whoſe individuals are ſo widely " different, it is acquired by education; by which " means the prince and the labourer, the philoſopher " and the peaſant, are in ſome meaſure fitted for " their reſpective ſituations."

Much of theſe poſitions is perhaps true, and the whole paragraph might well paſs without cenſure, were not objections neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of knowlege. *Poverty* is very gently paraphraſed by *want of riches*. In that ſenſe almoſt every man may in his own opinion be poor. But there is another poverty, which is *want of competence*, of all that can ſoften the miſeries of life, of all that can diverſify attention, or delight imagination. There is yet another poverty, which is *want of neceſſaries*, a ſpecies of poverty which no care of the publick, no charity

charity of particulars, can preferve many from feeling openly, and many fecretly.

That hope and fear are infeparably or very frequently connected with poverty, and riches, my furveys of life have not informed me. The milder degrees of poverty are fometimes fupported by hope, but the more fevere often fink down in motionlefs defpondence. Life muft be feen before it can be known. This author and *Pope* perhaps never faw the miferies which they imagine thus eafy to be borne. The poor indeed are infenfible of many little vexations which fometimes embitter the poffeffions and pollute the enjoyments of the rich. They are not pained by cafual incivility, or mortified by the mutilation of a compliment; but this happinefs is like that of a malefactor, who ceafes to feel the cords that bind him when the pincers are tearing his flefh.

That want of tafte for one enjoyment is fupplied by the pleafures of fome other, may be fairly allowed. But the compenfations of ficknefs I have never found near to equivalence, and the tranfports of recovery only prove the intenfenefs of the pain.

With folly no man is willing to confefs himfelf very intimately acquainted, and therefore its pains and pleafures are kept fecret. But what the author fays of its happinefs feems applicable only to fatuity, or grofs dulnefs; for that inferiority of underftanding which makes one man without any other reafon the flave, or tool, or property of another, which makes him fometimes ufelefs, and fometimes ridiculous, is often felt with very quick fenfibility. On the happinefs of madmen, as the cafe is not very frequent, it

it is not neceſſary to raiſe a diſquiſition, but I cannot forbear to obſerve, that I never yet knew diſorders of mind increaſe felicity: every madman is either arrogant and iraſcible, or gloomy and ſuſpicious, or poſſeſſed by ſome paſſion or notion deſtructive to his quiet. He has always diſcontent in his look, and malignity in his boſom. And, if he had the power of choice, he would ſoon repent who ſhould reſign his reaſon to ſecure his peace.

Concerning the portion of ignorance neceſſary to make the condition of the lower claſſes of mankind ſafe to the publick and tolerable to themſelves, both morals and policy exact a nicer enquiry than will be very ſoon or very eaſily made. There is undoubtedly a degree of knowledge which will direct a man to refer all to Providence, and to acquieſce in the condition with which omniſcient Goodneſs has determined to allot him; to conſider this world as a phantom that muſt ſoon glide from before his eyes, and the diſtreſſes and vexations that encompaſs him, as duſt ſcattered in his path, as a blaſt that chills him for a moment, and paſſes off for ever.

Such wiſdom, ariſing from the compariſon of a part with the whole of our exiſtence, thoſe that want it moſt cannot poſſibly obtain from philoſophy; nor unleſs the method of education, and the general tenor of life are changed, will very eaſily receive it from religion. The bulk of mankind is not likely to be very wiſe or very good: and I know not whether there are not many ſtates of life, in which all knowledge, leſs than the higheſt wiſdom, will produce diſcontent and danger. I believe it may be ſometimes

4 found,

found, that a *little learning* is to a poor man a *dangerous thing*. But ſuch is the condition of humanity, that we eaſily ſee, or quickly feel the wrong, but cannot always diſtinguiſh the right. Whatever knowledge is ſuperfluous, in irremediable poverty, is hurtful, but the difficulty is to determine when poverty is irremediable, and at what point ſuperfluity begins. Groſs ignorance every man has found equally dangerous with perverted knowledge. Men left wholly to their appetites and their inſtincts, with little ſenſe of moral or religious obligation, and with very faint diſtinctions of right and wrong, can never be ſafely employed, or confidently truſted: they can be honeſt only by obſtinacy, and diligent only by compulſion or caprice. Some inſtruction, therefore, is neceſſary, and much perhaps may be dangerous.

Though it ſhould be granted that thoſe who are *born to poverty and drudgery* ſhould not be *deprived* by an *improper education* of the *opiate* of *ignorance*; even this conceſſion will not be of much uſe to direct our practice, unleſs it be determined who are thoſe that are *born to poverty*. To entail irreverſible poverty upon generation after generation, only becauſe the anceſtor happened to be poor, is in itſelf cruel, if not unjuſt, and is wholly contrary to the maxims of a commercial nation, which always ſuppoſe and promote a rotation of property, and offer every individual a chance of mending his condition by his diligence. Thoſe who communicate literature to the ſon of a poor man, conſider him as one not born to poverty, but to the neceſſity of deriving a better fortune from himſelf. In this attempt, as

in others, many fail, and many ſucceed. Thoſe that fail will feel their miſery more acutely; but ſince poverty is now confeſſed to be ſuch a calamity as cannot be borne without the opiate of inſenſibility, I hope the happineſs of thoſe whom education enables to eſcape from it, may turn the balance againſt that exacerbation which the others ſuffer.

I am always afraid of determining on the ſide of envy or cruelty. The privileges of education may ſometimes be improperly beſtowed, but I ſhall always fear to with-hold them, leſt I ſhould be yielding to the ſuggeſtions of pride, while I perſuade myſelf that I am following the maxims of policy; and under the appearance of ſalutary reſtraints, ſhould be indulging the luſt of dominion, and that malevolence which delights in ſeeing others depreſſed.

*Pope*'s doctrine is at laſt exhibited in a compariſon, which, like other proofs of the ſame kind, is better adapted to delight the fancy than convince the reaſon.

"Thus the univerſe reſembles a large and well-regulated family, in which all the officers and ſervants, and even the domeſtick animals, are ſubſervient to each other in a proper ſubordination: each enjoys the privileges and perquiſites peculiar to his place, and at the ſame time contributes by that juſt ſubordination to the magnificence and happineſs of the whole."

The magnificence of a houſe is of uſe or pleaſure always to the maſter, and ſometimes to the domeſticks. But the magnificence of the univerſe adds

adds nothing to the Supreme Being; for any part of its inhabitants with which human knowledge is acquainted, an univerſe much leſs ſpacious or ſplendid would have been ſufficient; and of happineſs it does not appear that any is communicated from the beings of a lower world to thoſe of a higher.

The Enquiry after the cauſe of *natural Evil* is continued in the third Letter, in which, as in the former, there is mixture of borrowed truth, and native folly, of ſome notions juſt and trite, with others uncommon and ridiculous.

His opinion of the value and importance of happineſs is certainly juſt, and I ſhall inſert it, not that it will give any information to any reader, but it may ſerve to ſhew how the moſt common notion may be ſwelled in ſound, and diffuſed in bulk, till it ſhall perhaps aſtoniſh the author himſelf.

“ Happineſs is the only thing of real value in ex-
“ iſtence; neither riches, nor power, nor wiſdom, nor
“ learning, nor ſtrength, nor beauty, nor virtue, nor
“ religion, nor even life itſelf, being of any impor-
“ tance, but as they contribute to its production. All
“ theſe are in themſelves neither good nor evil: hap-
“ pineſs alone is their great end, and they are deſirable
“ only as they tend to promote it.”

Succeſs produces confidence. After this diſcovery of the value of happineſs, he proceeds without any diſtruſt of himſelf, to tell us what has been hid from all former enquirers.

“ The true ſolution of this important queſtion,
“ ſo long and ſo vainly ſearched for by the philoſo-
“ phers of all ages and all countries, I take to be

"at laſt no more than this, that theſe real evils pro-"
"ceed from the ſame ſource as thoſe imaginary ones"
"of imperfection before treated of, namely, from that"
"ſubordination, without which no created ſyſtem can"
"ſubſiſt; all ſubordination implying imperfection, all"
"imperfection Evil, and all Evil ſome kind of incon-"
"veniency or ſuffering: ſo that there muſt be parti-"
"cular inconveniencies and ſufferings annexed to"
"every particular rank of created beings by the cir-"
"cumſtances of things, and their modes of exiſtence.

"God indeed might have made us quite other creatures, and placed us in a world quite differently conſtituted; but then we had been no longer men, and whatever beings had occupied our ſtations in the univerſal ſyſtem, they muſt have been liable to the ſame inconveniencies."

In all this there is nothing that can ſilence the enquiries of curioſity, or calm the perturbations of doubt. Whether ſubordination implies imperfection may be diſputed. The means reſpecting themſelves may be as perfect as the end. The weed as a weed is no leſs perfect than the oak as an oak. That *imperfection implies Evil, and Evil ſuffering*, is by no means evident. Imperfection may imply privative Evil, or the abſence of ſome good, but this privation produces no ſuffering, but by the help of knowledge. An infant at the breaſt is yet an imperfect man, but there is no reaſon for belief that he is unhappy by his immaturity, unleſs ſome poſitive pain be ſuperadded.

When this author preſumes to ſpeak of the univerſe, I would adviſe him a little to diſtruſt his own faculties,

faculties, however large and comprehenſive. Many words eaſily underſtood on common occaſion, become uncertain and figurative when applied to the works of Omnipotence. Subordination in human affairs is well underſtood; but when it is attributed to the univerſal ſyſtem, its meaning grows leſs certain, like the petty diſtinctions of locality, which are of good uſe upon our own globe, but have no meaning with regard to infinite ſpace, in which nothing is *high* or *low*.

That if man, by exaltation to a higher nature, were exempted from the evils which he now ſuffers, ſome other being muſt ſuffer them; that if man were not man, ſome other being muſt be man, is a poſition ariſing from his eſtabliſhed notion of the ſcale of being. A notion to which *Pope* has given ſome importance by adopting it, and of which I have therefore endeavoured to ſhew the uncertainty and inconſiſtency. This ſcale of being I have demonſtrated to be raiſed by preſumptuous imagination, to reſt on nothing at the bottom, to lean on nothing at the top, and to have vacuities from ſtep to ſtep through which any order of being may ſink into nihility without any inconvenience, ſo far as we can judge, to the next rank above or below it. We are therefore little enlightened by a writer who tells us, that any being in the ſtate of man muſt ſuffer what man ſuffers, when the only queſtion that requires to be reſolved is, Why any being is in this ſtate?

Of poverty and labour he gives juſt and elegant repreſentations, which yet do not remove the difficulty of the firſt and fundamental queſtion, though

ſuppoſing the preſent ſtate of man neceſſary, they may ſupply ſome motives to content.

" Poverty is what all could not poſſibly have been " exempted from, not only by reaſon of the fluctuat- " ing nature of human poſſeſſions, but becauſe the " world could not ſubſiſt without it; for had all been " rich, none could have ſubmitted to the commands " of another, or the neceſſary drudgeries of life; " thence all governments muſt have been diſſolved, " arts neglected, and lands uncultivated, and ſo an " univerſal penury have overwhelmed all, inſtead of " now and then pinching a few. Hence, by the by, " appears the great excellence of charity, by which " men are enabled by a particular diſtribution of the " bleſſings and enjoyments of life, on proper occaſions, " to prevent that poverty which by a general one " Omnipotence itſelf could never have prevented: ſo " that, by inforcing this duty, God as it were de- " mands our aſſiſtance to promote univerſal happi- " neſs, and to ſhut out miſery at every door, where it " ſtrives to intrude itſelf.

" Labour, indeed, God might eaſily have ex- " cuſed us from, ſince at his command the earth " would readily have poured forth all her treaſures " without our inconſiderable aſſiſtance: but if the " ſevereſt labour cannot ſufficiently ſubdue the ma- " lignity of human nature, what plots and machi- " nations, what wars, rapine and devaſtation, what " profligacy and licentiouſneſs, muſt have been the " conſequences of univerſal idleneſs! ſo that labour " ought only to be looked upon as a taſk kindly " impoſed upon us by our indulgent Creator, ne-

" ceſſary

"cessary to preserve our health, our safety, and our "innocence."

I am afraid that *the latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.* If God *could easily have excused us from labour,* I do not comprehend why *he could not possibly have exempted all from poverty.* For poverty, in its easier and more tolerable degree, is little more than necessity of labour; and in its more severe and deplorable state, little more than inability for labour. To be poor is to work for others, or to want the succour of others without work. And the same exuberant fertility which would make work unnecessary, might make poverty impossible.

Surely a man who seems not completely master of his own opinion, should have spoken more cautiously of Omnipotence, nor have presumed to say what it could perform, or what it could prevent. I am in doubt whether those who stand highest in *the scale of being* speak thus confidently of the dispensations of their Maker:

For fools rush in, where angels fear to tread.

Of our inquietudes of mind his account is still less reasonable. "Whilst men are injured, they must be "inflamed with anger; and whilst they see cruelties, "they must be melted with pity; whilst they perceive "danger, they must be sensible of fear." This is to give a reason for all Evil, by shewing that one Evil produces another. If there is danger there ought to be fear; but if fear is an Evil, why should there be danger? His vindication of pain is of the same kind: pain is useful to alarm us, that we may shun greater evils,

evils, but those greater evils must be presupposed, that the fitness of pain may appear.

Treating on death, he has expressed the known and true doctrine with sprightliness of fancy, and neatness of diction. I shall therefore insert it. There are truths which, as they are always necessary, do not grow stale by repetition.

"Death, the last and most dreadful of all Evils, is "so far from being one, that it is the infallible cure "for all others.

> To die, is landing on some silent shore,
> Where billows never beat, nor tempests roar.
> Ere well we feel the friendly stroke, 'tis o'er. GARTH.

"For, abstracted from the sickness and sufferings "usually attending it, it is no more than the ex-"piration of that term of life God was pleased to "bestow on us, without any claim or merit on our "part. But was it an Evil ever so great, it could "not be remedied but by one much greater, which "is by living for ever; by which means our wick-"edness, unrestrained by the prospect of a future "state, would grow so insupportable, our sufferings "so intolerable by perseverance, and our pleasures "so tiresome by repetition, that no being in the "universe could be so completely miserable as a "species of immortal men. We have no reason, "therefore, to look upon death as an Evil, or to "fear it as a punishment, even without any suppo-"sition of a future life: but if we consider it as a "passage to a more perfect state, or a remove only "in an eternal succession of still-improving states "(for

"(for which we have the ſtrongeſt reaſons) it will "then appear a new favour from the divine munifi-"cence; and a man muſt be as abſurd to repine at "dying, as a traveller would be, who propoſed to "himſelf a delightful tour through various unknown "countries, to lament that he cannot take up his "reſidence at the firſt dirty inn which he baits at on "the road.

"The inſtability of human life, or of the changes "of its ſucceſſive periods, of which we ſo frequently "complain, are no more than the neceſſary progreſs "of it to this neceſſary concluſion; and are ſo far "from being Evils deſerving theſe complaints, that "they are the ſource of our greateſt pleaſures, as "they are the ſource of all novelty, from which our "greateſt pleaſures are ever derived. The con-"tinual ſucceſſion of ſeaſons in the human life, by "daily preſenting to us new ſcenes, render it agree-"able, and like thoſe of the year, afford us delights "by their change, which the choiceſt of them could "not give us by their continuance. In the ſpring of "life, the gilding of the ſun-ſhine, the verdure of the "fields, and the variegated paintings of the ſky, are "ſo exquiſite in the eyes of infants at their firſt "looking abroad into a new world, as nothing per-"haps afterwards can equal. The heat and vigour "of the ſucceeding ſummer of youth ripens for us "new pleaſures, the blooming maid, the nightly revel, "and the jovial chace: the ſerene autumn of com-"plete manhood feaſts us with the golden harveſts "of our worldly purſuits: nor is the hoary winter of "old age deſtitute of its peculiar comforts and en-

"joyments,

"joyments of which the recollection and relation of "those past are perhaps none of the least; and at last "death opens to us a new prospect, from whence "we shall probably look back upon the diversions "and occupations of this world with the same con- "tempt we do now on our tops and hobby-horses, "and with the same surprise that they could ever so "much entertain or engage us."

I would not willingly detract from the beauty of this paragraph; and in gratitude to him who has so well inculcated such important truths, I will venture to admonish him, since the chief comfort of the old is the recollection of the past, so to employ his time and his thoughts, that when the imbecility of age shall come upon him, he may be able to recreate its languors by the remembrance of hours spent, not in presumptuous derisions, but modest enquiries, not in dogmatical limitations of Omnipotence, but in humble acquiescence and fervent adoration. Old age will shew him that much of the book now before us has no other use than to perplex the scrupulous, and to shake the weak, to encourage impious presumption, or stimulate idle curiosity.

Having thus dispatched the consideration of particular evils, he comes at last to a general reason for which *Evil* may be said to be *our Good*. He is of opinion that there is some inconceivable benefit in pain abstractedly considered; that pain however inflicted, or wherever felt, communicates some good to the general system of being, and that every animal is some way or other the better for the pain of every other animal. This opinion he carries so far

far as to ſuppoſe that there paſſes ſome principle of union through all animal life, as attraction is communicated to all corporeal nature; and that the Evils ſuffered on this globe, may by ſome inconceivable means contribute to the felicity of the inhabitants of the remoteſt planet.

How the Origin of Evil is brought nearer to human conception by any *inconceivable* means, I am not able to diſcover. We believed that the preſent ſyſtem of creation was right, though we could not explain the adaptation of one part to the other, or for the whole ſucceſſion of cauſes and conſequences. Where has this enquirer added to the little knowledge that we had before? He has told us of the benefits of Evil, which no man feels, and relations between diſtant parts of the univerſe, which he cannot himſelf conceive. There was enough in this queſtion inconceivable before, and we have little advantage from a new inconceivable ſolution.

I do not mean to reproach this author for not knowing what is equally hidden from learning and from ignorance. The ſhame is to impoſe words for ideas upon ourſelves or others. To imagine that we are going forward when we are only turning round. To think that there is any difference between him that gives no reaſon, and him that gives a reaſon, which by his own confeſſion cannot be conceived.

But that he may not be thought to conceive nothing but things inconceivable, he has at laſt thought on a way by which human ſufferings may produce good effects. He imagines that as we have

not

not only animals for food, but choose some for our diversion, the same privilege may be allowed to some beings above us, *who may deceive, torment, or destroy us for the ends only of their own pleasure or utility*. This he again finds impossible to be conceived, *but that impossibility lessens not the probability of the conjecture, which by analogy is so strongly confirmed.*

I cannot resist the temptation of contemplating this analogy, which I think he might have carried further, very much to the advantage of his argument. He might have shewn that these *hunters whose game is man* have many sports analogous to our own. As we drown whelps and kittens, they amuse themselves now and then with sinking a ship, and stand round the fields of *Blenheim* or the walls of *Prague*, as we encircle a cock-pit. As we shoot a bird flying, they take a man in the midst of his business or pleasure, and knock him down with an apoplexy. Some of them, perhaps, are virtuosi, and delight in the operations of an asthma, as a human philosopher in the effects of the air pump. To swell a man with a tympany is as good sport as to blow a frog. Many a merry bout have these frolick beings at the vicissitudes of an ague, and good sport it is to see a man tumble with an epilepsy, and revive and tumble again, and all this he knows not why. As they are wiser and more powerful than we, they have more exquisite diversions, for we have no way of procuring any sport so brisk and so lasting, as the paroxysms of the gout and stone, which undoubtedly must make high mirth, especially if the play be a little diversified with the

blunders

blunders and puzzles of the blind and deaf. We know not how far their ſphere of obſervation may extend. Perhaps now and then a merry being may place himſelf in ſuch a ſituation as to enjoy at once all the varieties of an epidemical diſeaſe, or amuſe his leiſure with the toſſings and contortions of every poſſible pain exhibited together.

One ſport the merry malice of theſe beings has found means of enjoying to which we have nothing equal or ſimilar. They now and then catch a mortal proud of his parts, and flattered either by the ſubmiſſion of thoſe who court his kindneſs, or the notice of thoſe who ſuffer him to court theirs. A head thus prepared for the reception of falſe opinions, and the projection of vain deſigns, they eaſily fill with idle notions, till in time they make their plaything an author: their firſt diverſion commonly begins with an ode or an epiſtle, then riſes perhaps to a political irony, and is at laſt brought to its height, by a treatiſe of philoſophy. Then begins the poor animal to entangle himſelf in ſophiſms, and flounder in abſurdity, to talk confidently of the ſcale of being, and to give ſolutions which himſelf confeſſes impoſſible to be underſtood. Sometimes, however, it happens that their pleaſure is without much miſchief. The author feels no pain, but while they are wondering at the extravagance of his opinion, and pointing him out to one another as a new example of human folly, he is enjoying his own applauſe, and that of his companions, and perhaps is elevated with the hope of ſtanding at the head of a new ſect.

Many

Many of the books which now croud the world, may be juſtly ſuſpected to be written for the ſake of ſome inviſible order of beings; for ſurely they are of no uſe to any of the corporeal inhabitants of the world. Of the productions of the laſt bounteous year, how many can be ſaid to ſerve any purpoſe of uſe or pleaſure? The only end of writing is to enable the readers better to enjoy life, or better to endure it: and how will either of thoſe be put more in our power by him who tells us, that we are puppets, of which ſome creature not much wiſer than ourſelves manages the wires. That a ſet of beings unſeen and unheard, are hovering about us, trying experiments upon our ſenſibility, putting us in agonies to ſee our limbs quiver, torturing us to madneſs, that they may laugh at our vagaries, ſometimes obſtructing the bile, that they may ſee how a man looks when he is yellow; ſometimes breaking a traveller's bones to try how he will get home; ſometimes waſting a man to a ſkeleton, and ſometimes killing him fat for the greater elegance of his hide.

This is an account of natural Evil, which though, like the reſt, not quite new, is very entertaining, though I know not how much it may contribute to patience. The only reaſon why we ſhould contemplate Evil is, that we may bear it better; and I am afraid nothing is much more placidly endured, for the ſake of making others ſport.

The firſt pages of the fourth Letter are ſuch as incline me both to hope and wiſh that I ſhall find nothing to blame in the ſucceeding part. He offers a cri-

a criterion of action, on account of virtue and vice, for which I have often contended, and which must be embraced by all who are willing to know why they act, or why they forbear to give any reason of their conduct to themselves or others.

" In order to find out the true Origin of moral
" Evil, it will be necessary, in the first place, to
" enquire into its nature and essence; or what it is
" that constitutes one action evil, and another good.
" Various have been the opinions of various au-
" thors on this criterion of virtue; and this va-
" riety has rendered that doubtful, which must
" otherwise have been clear and manifest to the
" meanest capacity. Some indeed have denied
" that there is any such thing, because different
" ages and nations have entertained different sen-
" timents concerning it: but this is just as reason-
" able as to assert, that there are neither sun, moon,
" nor stars, because astronomers have supported dif-
" ferent systems of the motions and magnitudes of
" these celestial bodies. Some have placed it in
" conformity to truth, some to the fitness of things,
" and others to the will of God. But all this is
" merely superficial: they resolve us not why truth,
" or the fitness of things, are either eligible or obli-
" gatory, or why God should require us to act in
" one manner rather than another. The true reason
" of which can possibly be no other than this, be-
" cause some actions produce happiness, and others
" misery: so that all moral Good and Evil are no-
" thing more than the production of natural. This
" alone it is that makes truth preferable to falshood,
" this that determines the fitness of things, and this

"that induces God to command ſome actions, and "forbid others. They who extol the truth, beauty, "and harmony of virtue, excluſive of its conſe- "quences, deal but in pompous nonſenſe; and "they who would perſuade us, that Good and "Evil are things indifferent, depending wholly on "the will of God, do but confound the nature of "things, as well as all our notions of God himſelf, "by repreſenting him capable of willing contra- "dictions; that is, that we ſhould be, and be "happy, and at the ſame time that we ſhould tor- "ment and deſtroy each other; for injuries cannot "be made benefits, pain cannot be made pleaſure, "and conſequently vice cannot be made virtue by "any power whatever. It is the conſequences, "therefore, of all human actions that muſt ſtamp "their value. So far as the general practice of any "action tends to produce good, and introduce hap- "pineſs into the world, ſo far we may pronounce "it virtuous; ſo much Evil as it occaſions, ſuch is "the degree of vice it contains. I ſay the general "practice, becauſe we muſt always remember, in "judging by this rule, to apply it only to the ge- "neral ſpecies of actions, and not to particular "actions; for the infinite wiſdom of God, deſirous "to ſet bounds to the deſtructive conſequences "which muſt otherwiſe have followed from the "univerſal depravity of mankind, has ſo wonder- "fully contrived the nature of things, that our moſt "vicious actions may ſometimes accidentally and "collaterally produce good. Thus, for inſtance, "robbery may diſperſe uſeleſs hoards to the benefit "of the publick; adultery may bring heirs and

" good humour too into many families, where they " would otherwise have been wanting; and mur- " der free the world from tyrants and oppressors. " Luxury maintains its thousands, and vanity its " ten thousands. Superstition and arbitrary power " contribute to the grandeur of many nations, and " the liberties of others are preserved by the per- " petual contentions of avarice, knavery, selfish- " ness, and ambition; and thus the worst of vices, " and the worst of men, are often compelled by " Providence to serve the most beneficial purposes, " contrary to their own malevolent tendencies and " inclinations; and thus private vices become " publick benefits, by the force only of accidental " circumstances. But this impeaches not the truth " of the criterion of virtue before mentioned, the " only solid foundation on which any true system " of ethicks can be built, the only plain, simple, " and uniform rule by which we can pass any " judgment on our actions; but by this we may " be enabled, not only to determine which are " Good, and which are Evil, but almost mathe- " matically to demonstrate the proportion of virtue " or vice which belongs to each, by comparing " them with the degrees of happiness or misery " which they occasion. But though the production " of happiness is the essence of virtue, it is by no " means the end; the great end is the probation of " mankind, or the giving them an opportunity of " exalting or degrading themselves in another state " by their behaviour in the present. And thus in- " deed it answers two most important purposes; " those are, the conservation of our happiness, and " the

" the teſt of our obedience; or had not ſuch a teſt " ſeemed neceſſary to God's infinite wiſdom, and " productive of univerſal good, he would never have " permitted the happineſs of men, even in this life, to " have depended on ſo precarious a tenure, as their " mutual good behaviour to each other. For it is " obſervable, that he who beſt knows our formation, " has truſted no one thing of importance to our rea- " ſon or virtue: he truſts only to our appetites for the " ſupport of the individual, and the continuance of " our ſpecies; to our vanity or compaſſion, for our " bounty to others; and to our fears, for the preſerva- " tion of ourſelves; often to our vices for the ſupport " of government, and ſometimes to our follies for the " preſervation of our religion. But ſince ſome teſt of " our obedience was neceſſary, nothing ſure could have " been commanded for that end ſo fit and proper, " and at the ſame time ſo uſeful, as the practice of " virtue: nothing could have been ſo juſtly rewarded " with happineſs, as the production of happineſs in " conformity to the will of God. It is this conformity " alone which adds merit to virtue, and conſtitutes " the eſſential difference between morality and reli- " gion. Morality obliges men to live honeſtly and " ſoberly, becauſe ſuch behaviour is moſt conducive " to publick happineſs, and conſequently to their " own; religion, to purſue the ſame courſe, becauſe " conformable to the will of their Creator. Morality " induces them to embrace virtue from prudential " conſiderations; religion from thoſe of gratitude and " obedience. Morality therefore, entirely abſtracted

" from

" from religion, can have nothing meritorious in it;
" it being but wifdom, prudence, or good œconomy,
" which like health, beauty, or riches, are rather obli-
" gations conferred upon us by God, than merits in us
" towards him; for though we may be juftly punifhed
" for injuring ourfelves, we can claim no reward for
" felf-prefervation; as fuicide deferves punifhment and
" infamy, but a man deferves no reward or honours
" for not being guilty of it. This I take to be the
" meaning of all thofe paffages in our Scriptures, in
" which works are reprefented to have no merit with-
" out faith; that is, not without believing in hiftorical
" facts, in creeds, and articles; but without being
" done in purfuance of our belief in God, and in obe-
" dience to his commands. And now, having men-
" tioned Scripture, I cannot omit obferving, that the
" Chriftian is the only religious or moral inftitution
" in the world, that ever fet in a right light thefe two
" material points, the effence and the end of virtue;
" that ever founded the one in the production of hap-
" pinefs, that is, in univerfal benevolence, or, in their
" language, charity to all men; the other, in the pro-
" bation of man, and his obedience to his Creator.
" Sublime and magnificent as was the philofophy of
" the ancients, all their moral fyftems were deficient
" in thefe two important articles. They were all
" built on the fandy foundations of the innate beauty
" of virtue, or enthufiaftick patriotifm; and their
" great point in view was the contemptible reward of
" human glory; foundations which were by no means
" able to fupport the magnificent ftructures which

" they erected upon them; for the beauty of virtue, " independent of its effects, is unmeaning nonſenſe; " patriotiſm, which injures mankind in general for " the ſake of a particular country, is but a more " extended ſelfiſhneſs, and really criminal: and all " human glory but a mean and ridiculous deluſion. " The whole affair then of religion and morality, " the ſubject of ſo many thouſand volumes, is, in " ſhort, no more than this: the Supreme Being, in- " finitely good, as well as powerful, deſirous to dif- " fuſe happineſs by all poſſible means, has created " innumerable ranks and orders of beings, all ſubſer- " vient to each other by proper ſubordination. One " of theſe is occupied by man, a creature endued " with ſuch a certain degree of knowledge, reaſon, " and free-will, as is ſuitable to his ſituation, and " placed for a time on this globe as in a ſchool of " probation and education. Here he has an oppor- " tunity given him of improving or debaſing his na- " ture, in ſuch a manner as to render himſelf fit for a " rank of higher perfection and happineſs, or to de- " grade himſelf to a ſtate of greater imperfection and " miſery; neceſſary indeed towards carrying on the " buſineſs of the univerſe, but very grievous and bur- " thenſome to thoſe individuals, who, by their own " miſconduct, are obliged to ſubmit to it. The teſt of " this his behaviour, is doing good, that is, co-operat- " ing with his Creator, as far as his narrow ſphere of " action will permit, in the production of happineſs. " And thus the happineſs and miſery of a future ſtate " will be the juſt reward or puniſhment of promoting " or preventing happineſs in this. So artificially by

" this

"this means is the nature of all human virtue and "vice contrived, that their rewards and punifh-"ments are woven as it were in their very effence; "their immediate effects give us a foretafte of their "future, and their fruits in the prefent life are the "proper famples of what they muft unavoidably "produce in another. We have reafon given us to "diftinguifh thefe confequences, and regulate our con-"duct; and, left that fhould neglect its poft, con-"fcience alfo is appointed as an inftinctive kind of "monitor, perpetually to remind us both of our in-"tereft and our duty."

*Si fic omnia dixiffet!* To this account of the effence of vice and virtue, it is only neceffary to add, that the confequences of human actions being fometimes uncertain, and fometimes remote, it is not poffible in many cafes for moft men, nor in all cafes for any man to determine what actions will ultimately produce happinefs, and therefore it was proper that *revelation* fhould lay down a rule to be followed invariably in oppofition to appearances, and in every change of circumftances, by which we may be certain to promote the general felicity, and be fet free from the dangerous temptation of *doing Evil that Good may come.*

Becaufe it may eafily happen, and in effect will happen very frequently, that our own private happinefs may be promoted by an act injurious to others, when yet no man can be obliged by nature to prefer ultimately the happinefs of others to his own; therefore, to the inftructions of infinite wifdom it was neceffary that infinite power fhould add penal fanctions. That every man to whom thofe

instructions shall be imparted may know, that he can never ultimately injure himself by benefiting others, or ultimately by injuring others benefit himself; but that however the lot of the good and bad may be huddled together in the seeming confusion of our present state, the time shall undoubtedly come, when the most virtuous will be most happy.

I am sorry that the remaining part of this Letter is not equal to the first. The author has indeed engaged in a disquisition in which we need not wonder if he fails, in the solution of questions on which philosophers have employed their abilities from the earliest times,

And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.

He denies that man was created *perfect*, because the system requires subordination, and because the power of losing his perfection, of *rendering himself wicked and miserable is the highest imperfection imaginable.* Besides, the regular gradations of the scale of being required somewhere *such a creature as man with all his infirmities about him, and the total removal of those would be altering his nature, and when he became perfect he must cease to be man.*

I have already spent some considerations on the *scale of being*, of which yet I am obliged to renew the mention whenever a new argument is made to rest upon it; and I must therefore again remark, that consequences cannot have greater certainty than the postulate from which they are drawn, and that no system can be more hypothetical than this, and perhaps no hypothesis more absurd.

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He again deceives himſelf with reſpect to the perfection with which *man* is held to be originally veſted. *That man came perfect, that is, endued with all poſſible perfection, out of the hands of his Creator, is a falſe notion, derived from the philoſophers.—The univerſal ſyſtem required ſubordination, and conſequently comparative imperfection.* That *man was ever endued with all poſſible perfection*, that is, with all perfection of which the idea is not contradictory or deſtructive of itſelf, is undoubtedly *falſe*. But it can hardly be called *a falſe notion*, becauſe no man ever thought it, nor can it be derived from the *philoſophers*; for without pretending to gueſs what philoſophers he may mean, it is very ſafe to affirm, that no philoſopher ever ſaid it. Of thoſe who now maintain that *man* was once perfect, who may very eaſily be found, let the author enquire whether *man* was ever omniſcient, whether he was ever omnipotent, whether he ever had even the lower power of archangels or angels. Their anſwers will ſoon inform him, that the ſuppoſed perfection of *man* was not abſolute, but reſpective, that he was perfect in a ſenſe conſiſtent enough with ſubordination, perfect, not as compared with different beings, but with himſelf in his preſent degeneracy; not perfect as an angel, but perfect as man.

From this perfection, whatever it was, he thinks it neceſſary that man ſhould be debarred, becauſe pain is neceſſary to the good of the univerſe; and the pain of one order of beings extending its ſalutary influence to innumerable orders above and below, it was neceſſary that man ſhould ſuffer; but becauſe

becauſe it is not ſuitable to juſtice that pain ſhould be inflicted on innocence, it was neceſſary that man ſhould be criminal.

This is given as a ſatisfactory account of the Original of moral Evil, which amounts only to this, that God created beings whoſe guilt he foreknew, in order that he might have proper objects of pain, becauſe the pain of part is, no man knows how or why, neceſſary to the felicity of the whole.

The perfection which man once had, may be ſo eaſily conceived, that without any unuſual ſtrain of imagination we can figure its revival. All the duties to God or man that are neglected we may fancy performed; all the crimes that are committed we may conceive forborn. Man will then be reſtored to his moral perfections, and into what head can it enter that by this change the univerſal ſyſtem would be ſhaken, or the condition of any order of beings altered for the worſe?

He comes in the fifth Letter to political, and in the ſixth to religious Evils. Of political Evil, if we ſuppoſe the Origin of moral Evil diſcovered, the account is by no means difficult: polity being only the conduct of immoral men in publick affairs. The Evils of each particular kind of government are very clearly and elegantly diſplayed, and from their ſecondary cauſes very rationally deduced; but the firſt cauſe lies ſtill in its ancient obſcurity. There is in this Letter nothing new, nor any thing eminently inſtructive; one of his practical deductions, that *from government Evils cannot be eradicated, and their exceſs only can be prevented*, has been always allowed; the queſtion upon which all diſſenſion ariſes is, when that

exceſs

excefs begins, at what point men fhall ceafe to bear, and attempt to remedy.

Another of his precepts, though not new, well deferves to be tranfcribed, becaufe it cannot be too frequently impreffed.

"What has here been faid of their imperfections "and abufes, is by no means intended as a defence "of them: every wife man ought to redrefs them "to the utmoft of his power; which can be effected "by one method only; that is, by a reformation of "manners: for as all political Evils derive their ori-"ginal from moral, thefe can never be removed, "until thofe are firft amended. He, therefore, who "ftrictly adheres to virtue and fobriety in his conduct, "and enforces them by his example, does more real "fervice to a ftate, than he who difplaces a minifter, "or dethrones a tyrant; this gives but a temporary "relief, but that exterminates the caufe of the difeafe. "No immoral man then can poffibly be a true pa-"triot; and all thofe who profefs outrageous zeal for "the liberty and profperity of their country, and at "the fame time infringe her laws, affront her religion, "and debauch her people, are but defpicable quacks, "by fraud or ignorance increafing the diforders they "pretend to remedy."

Of religion he has faid nothing but what he has learned, or might have learned from the divines; that it is not univerfal, becaufe it muft be received upon conviction, and fucceffively received by thofe whom conviction reached; that its evidences and fanctions are not irrefiftible, becaufe it was intended to induce, not to compel; and that it is obfcure,

becaufe we want faculties to comprehend it. What he means by his affertion, that it wants policy, I do not well underftand; he does not mean to deny that a good chriftian will be a good governor, or a good fubject; and he has before juftly obferved, that the good man only is a patriot.

Religion has been, he fays, corrupted by the wickednefs of thofe to whom it was communicated, and has loft part of its efficacy by its connection with temporal intereft and human paffion.

He juftly obferves, that from all this, no conclufion can be drawn againft the divine original of chriftianity, fince the objections arife not from the nature of the revelation, but of him to whom it is communicated.

All this is known, and all this is true; but why, we have not yet difcovered. Our author, if I underftand him right, purfues the argument thus: the religion of man produces evils, becaufe the morality of man is imperfect; his morality is imperfect, that he may be juftly a fubject of punifhment: he is made fubject to punifhment, becaufe the pain of part is neceffary to the happinefs of the whole; pain is neceffary to happinefs no mortal can tell why or how.

Thus, after having clambered with great labour from one ftep of argumentation to another, inftead of rifing into the light of knowledge, we are devolved back into dark ignorance; and all our effort ends in belief, that for the Evils of life there is fome good reafon, and in confeffion, that the reafon cannot be found. This is all that has been produced

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by the revival of *Chrysippus*'s untractableneſs of matter, and the *Arabian* ſcale of exiſtence. A ſyſtem has been raiſed, which is ſo ready to fall to pieces of itſelf, that no great praiſe can be derived from its deſtruction. To object is always eaſy, and it has been well obſerved by a late writer, that *the hand which cannot build a hovel, may demoliſh a temple* *.

* New Practice of Phyſick.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... MAHAL

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

# POLITICAL

# TRACTS.

Fallitur, egregio quifquis fub principe credit
Servitium, nunquam Libertas gratior extat
Quam fub Rege pio. CLAUDIANUS.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

# THE

# FALSE ALARM.

[ 1770. ]

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ONE of the chief advantages derived by the preſent generation from the improvement and diffuſion of philoſophy, is deliverance from unneceſſary terrours, and exemption from falſe alarms. The unuſual appearances, whether regular or accidental, which once ſpread conſternation over ages of ignorance, are now the recreations of inquiſitive ſecurity. The ſun is no more lamented when it is eclipſed, than when it ſets; and meteors play their coruſcations without prognoſtick or prediction.

The advancement of political knowledge may be expected to produce in time the like effects. Cauſeleſs diſcontent and ſeditious violence will grow leſs frequent, and leſs formidable, as the ſcience of government is better aſcertained by a diligent ſtudy of the theory of man.

It is not indeed to be expected, that phyſical and political truth ſhould meet with equal acceptance, or gain ground upon the world with equal facility. The notions of the naturaliſt find mankind in a ſtate of neutrality, or at worſt have nothing to encounter but prejudice and vanity; prejudice without malignity,

and vanity without intereſt. But the politician's improvements are oppoſed by every paſſion that can exclude conviction or ſuppreſs it; by ambition, by avarice, by hope, and by terrour, by publick faction, and private animoſity.

It is evident, whatever be the cauſe, that this nation, with all its renown for ſpeculation and for learning, has yet made little proficiency in civil wiſdom. We are ſtill ſo much unacquainted with our own ſtate, and ſo unſkilful in the purſuit of happineſs, that we ſhudder without danger, complain without grievances, and ſuffer our quiet to be diſturbed, and our commerce to be interrupted, by an oppoſition to the government, raiſed only by intereſt, and ſupported only by clamour, which yet has ſo far prevailed upon ignorance and timidity, that many favour it as reaſonable, and many dread it as powerful.

What is urged by thoſe who have been ſo induſtrious to ſpread ſuſpicion, and incite fury from one end of the kingdom to the other, may be known by peruſing the papers which have been at once preſented as petitions to the king, and exhibited in print as remonſtrances to the people. It may therefore not be improper to lay before the Publick the reflections of a man who cannot favour the oppoſition, for he thinks it wicked, and cannot fear it, for he thinks it weak.

The grievance which has produced all this tempeſt of outrage, the oppreſſion in which all other oppreſſions are included, the invaſion which has left us no property, the alarm that ſuffers no patriot to ſleep in quiet, is compriſed in a vote of the Houſe of

of Commons, by which the freeholders of *Middlesex* are deprived of a *Briton*'s birth-right, representation in parliament.

They have indeed received the usual writ of election, but that writ, alas! was malicious mockery; they were insulted with the form, but denied the reality, for there was one man excepted from their choice.

*Non de vi, neque cæde, nec veneno,*
*Sed lis est mihi de tribus capellis.*

The character of the man thus fatally excepted, I have no purpose to delineate. Lampoon itself would disdain to speak ill of him of whom no man speaks well. It is sufficient that he is expelled the House of Commons, and confined in jail as being legally convicted of sedition and impiety.

That this man cannot be appointed one of the guardians and counsellors of the church and state, is a grievance not to be endured. Every lover of liberty stands doubtful of the fate of posterity, because the chief county in *England* cannot take its representative from a jail.

Whence *Middlesex* should obtain the right of being denominated the chief county, cannot easily be discovered; it is indeed the county where the chief city happens to stand, but how that city treated the favourite of *Middlesex*, is not yet forgotten. The county, as distinguished from the city, has no claim to particular consideration.

That a man was in jail for sedition and impiety, would, I believe, have been within memory a sufficient reason why he should not come out of jail a

legiſlator. This reaſon, notwithſtanding the mutability of faſhion, happens ſtill to operate on the Houſe of Commons. Their notions, however ſtrange, may be juſtified by a common obſervation, that few are mended by impriſonment, and that he whoſe crimes have made confinement neceſſary, ſeldom makes any other uſe of his enlargement, than to do witl. greater cunning what he did before with leſs.

But the people have been told with great confidence, that the Houſe cannot control the right of conſtituting repreſentatives; that he who can perſuade lawful electors to chuſe him, whatever be his character, is lawfully choſen, and has a claim to a ſeat in parliament, from which no human authority can depoſe him.

Here, however, the patrons of oppoſition are in ſome perplexity. They are forced to confeſs, that by a train of precedents ſufficient to eſtabliſh a cuſtom of parliament, the Houſe of Commons has juriſdiction over its own members; that the whole has power over individuals; and that this power has been exercifed ſometimes in impriſonment, and often in expulſion.

That ſuch power ſhould reſide in the Houſe of Commons in ſome caſes, is inevitably neceſſary, ſince it is required by every polity, that where there is a poſſibility of offence, there ſhould be a poſſibility of puniſhment. A member of the Houſe cannot be cited for his conduct in parliament before any other court; and therefore, if the Houſe cannot puniſh him, he may attack with impunity the rights of the people, and the title of the king.

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This exemption from the authority of other courts was, I think, first established in favour of the five members in the long parliament. It is not to be considered as an usurpation, for it is implied in the principles of government. If legislative powers are not co-ordinate, they cease in part to be legislative; and if they be co-ordinate, they are unaccountable; for to whom must that power account, which has no superiour?

The House of Commons is indeed dissoluble by the king, as the nation has of late been very clamorously told; but while it subsists it is co-ordinate with the other powers, and this co-ordination ceases only when the House by dissolution ceases to subsist.

As the particular representatives of the people are in their publick character above the control of the courts of law, they must be subject to the jurisdiction of the House; and as the House, in the exercise of its authority, can be neither directed nor restrained, its own resolutions must be its laws, at least, if there is no antecedent decision of the whole legislature.

This privilege, not confirmed by any written law or positive compact, but by the resistless power of political necessity, they have exercised, probably from their first institution, but certainly, as their records inform us, from the 23d of *Elizabeth*, when they expelled a member for derogating from their privileges.

It may perhaps be doubted, whether it was originally necessary, that this right of control and punishment, should extend beyond offences in the exercise of parliamentary duty, since all other crimes

are cognizable by other courts. But they, who are the only judges of their own rights, have exerted the power of expulſion on other occaſions, and when wickedneſs arrived at a certain magnitude, have conſidered an offence againſt ſociety as an offence againſt the Houſe.

They have therefore diveſted notorious delinquents of their legiſlative character, and delivered them up to ſhame or puniſhment, naked and unprotected, that they might not contaminate the dignity of parliament.

It is allowed that a man attainted of felony cannot ſit in Parliament, and the Commons probably judged, that not being bound to the forms of law, they might treat theſe as felons, whoſe crimes were in their opinion equivalent to felony; and that as a known felon could not be choſen, a man ſo like a felon, that he could not eaſily be diſtinguiſhed, ought to be expelled.

The firſt laws had no law to enforce them, the firſt authority was conſtituted by itſelf. The power exerciſed by the Houſe of Commons is of this kind, a power rooted in the principles of government, and branched out by occaſional practice; a power which neceſſity made juſt, and precedents have made legal.

It will occur that authority thus uncontrolable may, in times of heat and conteſt, be oppreſſively and injuriouſly exerted, and that he who ſuffers injuſtice, is without redreſs, however innocent, however miſerable.

The poſition is true but the argument is uſeleſs. The Commons muſt be controlled, or be exempt

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from control. If they are exempt they may do injury which cannot be redreſſed, if they are controlled they are no longer legiſlative.

If the poſſibility of abuſe be an argument againſt authority, no authority ever can be eſtabliſhed; if the actual abuſe deſtroys its legality, there is no legal government now in the world.

This power, which the Commons have ſo long exerciſed, they ventured to uſe once more againſt Mr. *Wilkes*, and on the 3d of *February*, 1769, expelled him the Houſe, *for having printed and publiſhed a ſeditious libel, and three obſcene and impious libels.*

If theſe imputations were juſt, the expulſion was ſurely ſeaſonable, and that they were juſt, the Houſe had reaſon to determine, as he had confeſſed himſelf, at the bar, the author of the libel which they term ſeditious, and was convicted in the King's Bench of both the publications.

But the freeholders of *Middleſex* were of another opinion. They either thought him innocent, or were not offended by his guilt. When a writ was iſſued for the election of a knight for *Middleſex*, in the room of *John Wilkes*, Eſq; expelled the Houſe, his friends on the ſixteenth of *February* choſe him again.

On the 17th, it was reſolved, *that* John Wilkes, *Eſq; having been in this ſeſſion of parliament expelled the Houſe, was, and is, incapable of being elected a member to ſerve in this preſent parliament.*

As there was no other candidate, it was reſolved, at the ſame time, that the election of the ſixteenth was a void election.

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The freeholders ſtill continued to think that no other man was fit to repreſent them, and on the ſixteenth of *March* elected him once more. Their reſolution was now ſo well known, that no opponent ventured to appear.

The Commons began to find, that power without materials for operation can produce no effect. They might make the election void for ever, but if no other candidate could be found, their determination could only be negative. They, however, made void the laſt election, and ordered a new writ.

On the thirteenth of *April* was a new election, at which Mr. *Lutterel*, and others, offered themſelves candidates. Every method of intimidation was uſed, and ſome acts of violence were done to hinder Mr. *Lutterel* from appearing. He was not deterred, and the poll was taken, which exhibited for

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| Mr. *Wilkes*, | - | - | 1143 |
| Mr. *Lutterel*, | - | - | 296 |

The ſheriff returned Mr. *Wilkes*; but the Houſe, on *April* the fifteenth, determined that Mr. *Lutterel* was lawfully elected.

From this day begun the clamour, which has continued till now. Thoſe who had undertaken to oppoſe the miniſtry, having no grievance of greater magnitude, endeavoured to ſwell this deciſion into bulk, and diſtort it into deformity, and then held it out to terrify the nation.

Every artifice of ſedition has been ſince practiſed to awaken diſcontent and inflame indignation. The papers of every day have been filled with exhortations and menaces of faction. The madneſs has

ſpread

ſpread through all ranks and through both ſexes; women and children have clamoured for Mr. *Wilkes*, honeſt ſimplicity has been cheated into fury, and only the wiſe have eſcaped infection.

The greater part may juſtly be ſuſpected of not believing their own poſition, and with them it is not neceſſary to diſpute. They cannot be convinced who are convinced already, and it is well known that they will not be aſhamed.

The deciſion, however, by which the ſmaller number of votes was preferred to the greater, has perplexed the minds of ſome, whoſe opinions it were indecent to deſpiſe, and who by their integrity well deſerve to have their doubts appeaſed.

Every diffuſe and complicated queſtion may be examined by different methods, upon different principles; and that truth, which is eaſily found by one inveſtigator, may be miſſed by another, equally honeſt and equally diligent.

Thoſe who inquire, whether a ſmaller number of legal votes can elect a repreſentative in oppoſition to a greater, muſt receive from every tongue the ſame anſwer.

The queſtion, therefore, muſt be, whether a ſmaller number of legal votes, ſhall not prevail againſt a greater number of votes not legal?

It muſt be conſidered, that thoſe votes only are legal which are legally given, and that thoſe only are legally given, which are given for a legal candidate.

It remains then to be diſcuſſed, whether a man expelled, can be ſo diſqualified by a vote of the Houſe,

Houſe, as that he ſhall be no longer eligible by lawful electors?

Here we muſt again recur, not to poſitive inſtitutions, but to the unwritten law of ſocial nature, to the great and pregnant principle of political neceſſity. All government ſuppoſes ſubjects, all authority implies obedience. To ſuppoſe in one the right to command what another has the right to refuſe, is abſurd and contradictory. A ſtate ſo conſtituted muſt reſt for ever in motionleſs equipoiſe, with equal attractions of contrary tendency, with equal weights of power balancing each other.

Laws which cannot be enforced, can neither prevent nor rectify diſorders. A ſentence which cannot be executed can have no power to warn or to reform. If the Commons have only the power of diſmiſſing for a few days the man whom his conſtituents can immediately ſend back, if they can expel but cannot exclude, they have nothing more than nominal authority, to which perhaps obedience never may be paid.

The repreſentatives of our anceſtors had an opinion very different: they fined and impriſoned their members; on great provocation they diſabled them for ever; and this power of pronouncing perpetual diſability is maintained by *Selden* himſelf.

Theſe claims ſeem to have been made and allowed, when the conſtitution of our government had not yet been ſufficiently ſtudied. Such powers are not legal, becauſe they are not neceſſary: and of that power which only neceſſity juſtifies, no more is to be admitted than neceſſity obtrudes.

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The Commons cannot make laws, they can only paſs reſolutions, which, like all reſolutions, are of force only to thoſe that make them, and to thoſe only while they are willing to obſerve them.

The vote of the Houſe of Commons has therefore only ſo far the force of a law, as that force is neceſſary to preſerve the vote from loſing its efficacy, it muſt begin by operating upon themſelves, and extends its influence to others, only by conſequences ariſing from the firſt intention. He that ſtarts game on his own manor, may purſue it into another.

They can properly make laws only for themſelves: a member, while he keeps his ſeat, is ſubject to theſe laws; but when he is expelled, the juriſdiction ceaſes, for he is now no longer within their dominion.

The diſability, which a vote can ſuperinduce to expulſion, is no more than was included in expulſion itſelf; it is only a declaration of the Commons, that they will permit no longer him whom they thus cenſure to ſit with them in parliament; a declaration made by that right which they neceſſarily poſſeſs, of regulating their own Houſe, and of inflicting puniſhment on their own delinquents.

They have therefore no other way to enforce the ſentence of incapacity, than that of adhering to it. They cannot otherwiſe puniſh the candidate ſo diſqualified for offering himſelf, nor the electors for accepting him. But if he has any competitor, that competitor muſt prevail, and if he has none, his election will be void; for the right of the Houſe to reject, annihilates with regard to the man ſo rejected the right of electing.

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It has been urged, that the power of the Houſe terminates with their ſeſſion; ſince a priſoner committed by the Speaker's warrant cannot be detained during the receſs. That power indeed ceaſes with the ſeſſion, which muſt operate by the agency of others, becauſe, when they do not ſit, they can employ no agent, having no longer any legal exiſtence; but that which is exerciſed on themſelves revives at their meeting, when the ſubject of that power ſtill ſubſiſts. They can in the next ſeſſion refuſe to re-admit him, whom in the former ſeſſion they expelled.

That expulſion inferred excluſion, in the preſent caſe, muſt be, I think, eaſily admitted. The expulſion and the writ iſſued for a new election were in the ſame ſeſſion, and ſince the Houſe is by the rule of parliament bound for the ſeſſion by a vote once paſſed, the expelled member cannot be admitted. He that cannot be admitted, cannot be elected; and the votes given to a man ineligible being given in vain, the higheſt number for an eligible candidate becomes a majority.

To theſe concluſions, as to moſt moral, and to all political poſitions, many objections may be made. The perpetual ſubject of political diſquiſition is not abſolute, but comparative good. Of two ſyſtems of government, or two laws relating to the ſame ſubject, neither will ever be ſuch as theoretical nicety would deſire, and therefore neither can eaſily force its way againſt prejudice and obſtinacy; each will have its excellencies and defects, and every man, with a little help from pride, may think his own the beſt.

It ſeems to be the opinion of many, that expulſion is only a diſmiſſion of the repreſentative to his conſtituents, with ſuch a teſtimony againſt him as his ſentence may compriſe; and that if his conſtituents, notwithſtanding the cenſure of the Houſe, thinking his caſe hard, his fault trifling, or his excellencies ſuch as overbalance it, ſhould again chuſe him as ſtill worthy of their truſt, the Houſe cannot refuſe him, for his puniſhment has purged his fault, and the right of electors muſt not be violated.

This is plauſible but not cogent. It is a ſcheme of repreſentation, which would make a ſpecious appearance in a political romance, but cannot be brought into practice among us, who ſee every day the towering head of ſpeculation bow down unwillingly to groveling experience.

Governments formed by chance, and gradually improved by ſuch expedients, as the ſucceſſive diſcovery of their defects happened to ſuggeſt, are never to be tried by a regular theory. They are fabricks of diſſimilar materials, raiſed by different architects, upon different plans. We muſt be content with them as they are; ſhould we attempt to mend their diſproportions, we might eaſily demoliſh, and difficultly rebuild them.

Laws are now made, and cuſtoms are eſtabliſhed; theſe are our rules, and by them we muſt be guided.

It is uncontrovertibly certain, that the Commons never intended to leave electors the liberty of returning them an expelled member, for they always require one to be choſen in the room of him that is expelled,

expelled, and I ſee not with what propriety a man can be re-choſen in his own room.

Expulſion, if this were its whole effect, might very often be deſirable. Sedition, or obſcenity, might be no greater crimes in the opinion of other electors, than in that of the freeholders of *Middleſex*; and many a wretch, whom his colleagues ſhould expel, might come back perſecuted into fame, and provoke with harder front a ſecond expulſion.

Many of the repreſentatives of the people can hardly be ſaid to have been choſen at all. Some by inheriting a borough inherit a ſeat; and ſome ſit by the favour of others, whom perhaps they may gratify by the act which provoked the expulſion. Some are ſafe by their popularity, and ſome by their alliances. None would dread expulſion, if this doctrine were received, but thoſe who bought their elections, and who would be obliged to buy them again at a higher price.

But as uncertainties are to be determined by things certain, and cuſtoms to be explained, where it is poſſible, by written law, the patriots have triumphed with a quotation from an act of the 4th and 5th of *Anne*, which permits thoſe to be re-choſen, whoſe ſeats are vacated by the acceptance of a place of profit. This they wiſely conſider as an expulſion, and from the permiſſion, in this caſe, of a re-election, infer that every other expulſion leaves the delinquent entitled to the ſame indulgence. This is the paragraph:

"If

"If any perſon, *being choſen a member* of the Houſe "of Commons, ſhall accept of any office from the "crown, *during ſuch time as he ſhall continue a member*, "his election ſhall be, and is hereby declared to be "void, and a new writ ſhall iſſue for a new election, "as if ſuch perſon ſo accepting was naturally dead. "*Nevertheleſs ſuch perſon ſhall be capable of being again* "*elected*, as if his place had not become void as afore-"ſaid."

How this favours the doctrine of re-admiſſion by a ſecond choice, I am not able to diſcover. The ſtatute of 30 *Ch.* II. had enacted, That *he who ſhould ſit in the Houſe of Commons, without taking the oaths and ſubſcribing the teſt, ſhould be diſabled to ſit in the Houſe during that Parliament, and a writ ſhould iſſue for the election of a new member, in place of the member ſo diſabled, as if ſuch member had naturally died.*

This laſt clauſe is apparently copied in the act of *Anne*, but with the common fate of imitators. In the act of *Charles*, the political death continued during the parliament, in that of *Anne* it was hardly worth the while to kill the man whom the next breath was to revive. It is, however, apparent, that in the opinion of the parliament, the dead-doing lines would have kept him motionleſs, if he had not been recovered by a kind exception. A ſeat vacated, could not be regained without expreſs permiſſion of the ſame ſtatute.

The right of being choſen again to a ſeat thus vacated, is not enjoyed by any general right, but required a ſpecial clauſe, and ſolicitous proviſion.

But what reſemblance can imagination conceive between one man vacating his ſeat, by a mark of favour from the crown, and another driven from it for ſedition and obſcenity. The acceptance of a place contaminates no character; the crown that gives it, intends to give with it always dignity, ſometimes authority. The commons, it is well known, think not worſe of themſelves or others for their offices of profit; yet profit implies temptation, and may expoſe a repreſentative to the ſuſpicion of his conſtituents; though if they ſtill think him worthy of their confidence, they may again elect him.

Such is the conſequence. When a man is diſmiſſed by law to his conſtituents, with new truſt and new dignity, they may, if they think him incorruptible, reſtore him to his ſeat; what can follow, therefore, but that when the Houſe drives out a varlet with publick infamy, he goes away with the like permiſſion to return?

If infatuation be, as the proverb tells us, the forerunner of deſtruction, how near muſt be the ruin of a nation that can be incited againſt it's governors, by ſophiſtry like this. I may be excuſed if I catch the panick, and join my groans at this alarming criſis, with the general lamentation of weeping patriots.

Another objection is, that the Commons, by pronouncing the ſentence of diſqualification, make a law, and take upon themſelves the power of the whole legiſlature. Many quotations are then produced to prove that the Houſe of Commons can make no laws.

Three acts have been cited, disabling members for different terms on different occasions; and it is profoundly remarked, that if the Commons could by their own privilege have made a disqualification, their jealousy of their privileges would never have admitted the concurrent sanction of the other powers.

I must for ever remind these puny controvertists, that those acts are laws of permanent obligation: that two of them are now in force, and that the other expired only when it had fulfilled its end. Such laws the Commons cannot make; they could, perhaps, have determined for themselves, that they would expel all who should not take the test, but they could leave no authority behind them, that should oblige the next parliament to expel them. They could refuse the *South Sea* directors, but they could not entail the refusal. They can disqualify by vote, but not by law; they cannot know that the sentence of disqualification pronounced to-day may not become void to-morrow, by the dissolution of their own House. Yet while the same parliament sits, the disqualification continues unless the vote be rescinded, and while it so continues, makes the votes, which freeholders may give to the interdicted candidate, useless and dead, since there cannot exist, with respect to the same subject at the same time, an absolute power to chuse and an absolute power to reject.

In 1614, the attorney-general was voted incapable of a seat in the House of Commons; and the nation is triumphantly told, that though the vote never was revoked, the attorney-general is now a

 member.

member. He certainly may now be a member without revocation of the vote. A law is of perpetual obligation, but a vote is nothing when the voters are gone. A law is a compact reciprocally made by the legiſlative powers, and therefore not to be abrogated but by all the parties. A vote is ſimply a reſolution, which binds only him that is willing to be bound.

I have thus punctiliouſly and minutely purſued this diſquiſition, becauſe I ſuſpect that theſe reaſoners, whoſe buſineſs is to deceive others, have ſometimes deceived themſelves, and I am willing to free them from their embarraſſment though I do not expect much gratitude for my kindneſs.

Other objections are yet remaining, for of political objections there cannot eaſily be an end. It has been obſerved, that vice is no proper cauſe of expulſion, for if the worſt man in the Houſe were always to be expelled, in time none would be left. But no man is expelled for being worſt, he is expelled for being enormouſly bad; his conduct is compared, not with that of others, but with the rule of action.

The puniſhment of expulſion being in its own nature uncertain, may be too great or too little for the fault.

This muſt be the caſe of many puniſhments. Forfeiture of chattels is nothing to him that has no poſſeſſions. Exile itſelf may be accidentally a good; and indeed any puniſhment leſs than death is very different to different men.

But if this precedent be admitted and eſtabliſhed, no man can hereafter be ſure that he ſhall be re-

preſented

presented by him whom he would choose. One half of the House may meet early in the morning, and snatch an opportunity to expel the other, and the greater part of the nation may by this stratagem be without its lawful representatives.

He that sees all this, sees very far. But I can tell him of greater evils yet behind. There is one possibility of wickedness, which, at this alarming crisis, has not yet been mentioned. Every one knows the malice, the subtilty, the industry, the vigilance, and the greediness of the *Scots*. The *Scotch* members are about the number sufficient to make a house. I propose it to the consideration of the supporters of the Bill of Rights, whether there is not reason to suspect, that these hungry intruders from the North, are now contriving to expel all the *English*. We may then curse the hour in which it was determined, that expulsion and exclusion are the same. For who can guess what may be done when the *Scots* have the whole House to themselves?

Thus agreeable to custom and reason, notwithstanding all objections, real or imaginary; thus consistent with the practice of former times, and thus consequential to the original principles of government, is that decision by which so much violence of discontent has been excited, which has been so dolorously bewailed, and so outrageously resented.

Let us however not be seduced to put too much confidence in justice or in truth; they have often been found inactive in their own defence, and give more confidence than help to their friends and their

advocates. It may perhaps be prudent to make one momentary conceſſion to falſehood, by ſuppoſing the vote in Mr. *Lutterel*'s favour to be wrong.

All wrong ought to be rectified. If Mr. *Wilkes* is deprived of a lawful ſeat, both he and his electors have reaſon to complain; but it will not be eaſily found, why, among the innumerable wrongs of which a great part of mankind are hourly complaining, the whole care of the publick ſhould be tranſferred to Mr. *Wilkes* and the freeholders of *Middleſex*, who might all ſink into non-exiſtence, without any other effect, than that there would be room made for a new rabble, and a new retailer of ſedition and obſcenity. The cauſe of our country would ſuffer little; the rabble, whenceſoever they come, will be always patriots, and always ſupporters of the Bill of Rights.

The Houſe of Commons decides the diſputes ariſing from elections. Was it ever ſuppoſed, that in all caſes their deciſions were right? Every man whoſe lawful election is defeated, is equally wronged with Mr. *Wilkes*, and his conſtituents feel their diſappointment with no leſs anguiſh than the freeholders of *Middleſex*. Theſe deciſions have often been apparently partial, and ſometimes tyrannically oppreſſive. A majority has been given to a favourite candidate, by expunging votes which had always been allowed, and which therefore had the authority by which all votes are given, that of cuſtom uninterrupted. When the Commons determine who ſhall be conſtituents, they may, with ſome propriety, be ſaid to make law, becauſe thoſe determinations have hitherto, for the ſake of quiet, been adopted

adopted by ſucceeding parliaments. A vote therefore of the Houſe, when it operates as a law, is to individuals a law only temporary, but to communities perpetual.

Yet though all this has been done, and though at every new parliament much of this is expected to be done again, it has never produced in any former time ſuch an *alarming criſis*. We have found by experience, that though a ſquire has given ale and veniſon in vain, and a borough has been compelled to ſee its deareſt intereſt in the hands of him whom it did not truſt, yet the general ſtate of the nation has continued the ſame. The ſun has riſen, and the corn has grown, and whatever talk has been of the danger of property, yet he that ploughed the field commonly reaped it, and he that built a houſe was maſter of the door: the vexation excited by injuſtice ſuffered, or ſuppoſed to be ſuffered, by any private man, or ſingle community, was local and temporary, it neither ſpread far, nor laſted long.

The nation looked on with little care, becauſe there did not ſeem to be much danger. The conſequence of ſmall irregularities was not felt, and we had not yet learned to be terrified by very diſtant enemies.

But quiet and ſecurity are now at an end. Our vigilance is quickened, and our comprehenſion is enlarged. We not only ſee events in their cauſes, but before their cauſes; we hear the thunder while the ſky is clear, and ſee the mine ſprung before it is dug. Political wiſdom has, by the force of *Engliſh* genius, been improved at laſt not only to political intuition, but to political preſcience.

But it cannot, I am afraid, be ſaid, that as we are grown wiſe, we are made happy. It is ſaid of thoſe who have the wonderful power called ſecond ſight, that they ſeldom ſee any thing but evil: political ſecond ſight has the ſame effect; we hear of nothing but of an alarming criſis, of violated rights, and expiring liberties. The morning riſes upon new wrongs, and the dreamer paſſes the night in imaginary ſhackles.

The ſphere of anxiety is now enlarged; he that hitherto cared only for himſelf, now cares for the Publick; for he has learned that the happineſs of individuals is compriſed in the proſperity of the whole, and that his country never ſuffers, but he ſuffers with it, however it happens that he feels no pain.

Fired with this fever of epidemick patriotiſm, the taylor ſlips his thimble, the draper drops his yard, and the blackſmith lays down his hammer; they meet at an honeſt alehouſe, conſider the ſtate of the nation, read or hear the laſt petition, lament the miſeries of the time, are alarmed at the dreadful criſis, and ſubſcribe to the ſupport of the Bill of Rights.

It ſometimes indeed happens, that an intruder of more benevolence than prudence attempts to diſperſe their cloud of dejection, and eaſe their hearts by ſeaſonable conſolation. He tells them, that though the government cannot be too diligently watched, it may be too haſtily accuſed; and that, though private judgment is every man's right, yet we cannot judge of what we do not know; that we feel at preſent no evils which government can alleviate, and that the publick buſineſs is committed to men

who

who have as much right to confidence as their adversaries; that the freeholders of *Middlesex*, if they could not choose Mr. *Wilkes*, might have chosen any other man, and that *he trusts we have within the realm five hundred as good as he*; that even if this which has happened to *Middlesex* had happened to every other county, that one man should be made incapable of being elected, it could produce no great change in the parliament, nor much contract the power of election; that what has been done is probably right, and that if it be wrong it is of little consequence, since a like case cannot easily occur; that expulsions are very rare, and if they should, by unbounded insolence of faction, become more frequent, the electors may easily provide a second choice.

All this he may say, but not half of this will be heard; his opponents will stun him and themselves with a confused sound of pensions and places, venality and corruption, oppression and invasion, slavery and ruin.

Outcries like these, uttered by malignity, and echoed by folly; general accusations of indeterminate wickedness; and obscure hints of impossible designs, dispersed among those that do not know their meaning, by those that know them to be false, have disposed part of the nation, though but a small part, to pester the court with ridiculous petitions.

The progress of a petition is well known. An ejected placeman goes down to his county or his borough, tells his friends of his inability to serve them, and his constituents of the corruption of the

government. His friends readily underſtand that he who can get nothing, will have nothing to give. They agree to proclaim a meeting; meat and drink are plentifully provided; a crowd is eaſily brought together, and thoſe who think that they know the reaſon of their meeting, undertake to tell thoſe who know it not. Ale and clamour unite their powers, the crowd, condenſed and heated, begins to ferment with the leven of ſedition. All ſee a thouſand evils, though they cannot ſhow them, and grow impatient for a remedy, though they know not what.

A ſpeech is then made by the *Cicero* of the day; he ſays much, and ſuppreſſes more, and credit is equally given to what he tells, and what he conceals. The petition is read and univerſally approved. Thoſe who are ſober enough to write, add their names, and the reſt would ſign it if they could.

Every man goes home and tells his neighbour of the glories of the day; how he was conſulted and what he adviſed; how he was invited into the great room, where his lordſhip called him by his name; how he was careſſed by Sir *Francis*, Sir *Joſeph*, or Sir *George*; how he eat turtle and veniſon, and drank unanimity to the three brothers.

The poor loiterer, whoſe ſhop had confined him, or whoſe wife had locked him up, hears the tale of luxury with envy, and at laſt inquires what was their petition. Of the petition nothing is remembered by the narrator, but that it ſpoke much of fears and apprehenſions, and ſomething very alarming, and that he is ſure it is againſt the government; the other is convinced that it muſt be right, and wiſhes

he

he had been there, for he loves wine and veniſon, and is reſolved as long as he lives to be againſt the government.

The petition is then handed from town to town, and from houſe to houſe, and wherever it comes the inhabitants flock together, that they may ſee that which muſt be ſent to the king. Names are eaſily collected. One man ſigns becauſe he hates the papiſt; another becauſe he has vowed deſtruction to the turnpikes; one becauſe it will vex the parſon; another becauſe he owes his landlord nothing; one becauſe he is rich; another becauſe he is poor; one to ſhew that he is not afraid, and another to ſhew that he can write.

The paſſage, however, is not always ſmooth. Thoſe who collect contributions to ſedition, ſometimes apply to a man of higher rank and more enlightened mind, who, inſtead of lending them his name, calmly reproves them for being ſeducers of the people.

You who are here, ſays he, complaining of venality, are yourſelves the agents of thoſe who, having eſtimated themſelves at too high a price, are only angry that they are not bought. You are appealing from the parliament to the rabble, and inviting thoſe who ſcarcely, in the moſt common affairs, diſtinguiſh right from wrong, to judge of a queſtion complicated with law written and unwritten, with the general principles of government, and the particular cuſtoms of the Houſe of Commons; you are ſhewing them a grievance, ſo diſtant that they cannot ſee it, and ſo light that they cannot feel it; for how, but by unne-

ceſſary

ceſſary intelligence and artificial provocation, ſhould the farmers and ſhop-keepers of *Yorkſhire* and *Cumberland* know or care how *Middleſex* is repreſented? Inſtead of wandering thus round the county to exaſperate the rage of party, and darken the ſuſpicions of ignorance, it is the duty of men like you, who have leiſure for inquiry, to lead back the people to their honeſt labour; to tell them, that ſubmiſſion is the duty of the ignorant, and content the virtue of the poor; that they have no ſkill in the art of government, nor any intereſt in the diſſentions of the great; and when you meet with any, as ſome there are, whoſe underſtandings are capable of conviction, it will become you to allay this foaming ebullition, by ſhewing them that they have as much happineſs as the condition of life will eaſily receive, and that a government, of which an erroneous or unjuſt repreſentation of *Middleſex* is the greateſt crime that intereſt can diſcover, or malice can upbraid, is a government approaching nearer to perfection, than any that experience has known, or hiſtory related.

The drudges of ſedition wiſh to change their ground, they hear him with ſullen ſilence, feel conviction without repentance, and are confounded but not abaſhed; they go forward to another door, and find a kinder reception from a man enraged againſt the government, becauſe he has juſt been paying the tax upon his windows.

That a petition for a diſſolution of the parliament will at all times have its favourers, may be eaſily imagined. The people indeed do not expect that one Houſe of Commons will be much honeſter or

much wiſer than another; they do not ſuppoſe that the taxes will be lightened; or though they have been ſo often taught to hope it, that ſoap and candles will be cheaper; they expect no redreſs of grievances, for of no grievances but taxes do they complain; they wiſh not the extenſion of liberty, for they do not feel any reſtraint; about the ſecurity of privilege or property they are totally careleſs, for they ſee no property invaded, nor know, till they are told, that any privilege has ſuffered violation.

Leaſt of all do they expect, that any future parliament will leſſen its own powers, or communicate to the people that authority which it has once obtained.

Yet a new parliament is ſufficiently deſirable. The year of election is a year of jollity; and what is ſtill more delightful, a year of equality. The glutton now eats the delicacies for which he longed when he could not purchaſe them, and the drunkard has the pleaſure of wine without the coſt. The drone lives a while without work, and the ſhop-keeper, in the flow of money, raiſes his price. The mechanick that trembled at the preſence of Sir *Joſeph*, now bids him come again for an anſwer; and the poacher whoſe gun has been ſeized, now finds an opportunity to reclaim it. Even the honeſt man is not diſpleaſed to ſee himſelf important, and willingly reſumes in two years that power which he had reſigned for ſeven. Few love their friends ſo well as not to deſire ſuperiority by unexpenſive benefaction.

Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe motives to compliance, the promoters of petitions have not been ſucceſsful. Few could be perſuaded to lament evils which

which they did not ſuffer, or to ſolicit for redreſs which they do not want. The petition has been, in ſome places, rejected; and perhaps in all but one, ſigned only by the meaneſt and groſſeſt of the people.

Since this expedient now invented or revived to diſtreſs the government, and equally practicable at all times by all who ſhall be excluded from power and from profit, has produced ſo little effect, let us conſider the oppoſition as no longer formidable. The great engine has recoiled upon them. They thought that *the terms* they *ſent were terms of weight*, which would have *amazed all and ſtumbled many*; but the conſternation is now over, and their foes *ſtand upright*, as before.

With great propriety and dignity the king has, in his ſpeech, neglected or forgotten them. He might eaſily know, that what was preſented as the ſenſe of the people, is the ſenſe only of the profligate and diſſolute; and that whatever parliament ſhould be convened, the ſame petitioners would be ready, for the ſame reaſon, to requeſt its diſſolution.

As we once had a rebellion of the clowns, we have now an oppoſition of the pedlars. The quiet of the nation has been for years diſturbed by a faction, againſt which all factions ought to conſpire; for its original principle is the deſire of levelling; it is only animated under the name of zeal, by the natural malignity of the mean againſt the great.

When in the confuſion which the *Engliſh* invaſions produced in *France*, the villains, imagining that they had found the golden hour of emancipation, took

took arms in their hands, the knights of both nations considered the cause as common, and, suspending the general hostility, united to chastise them.

The whole conduct of this despicable faction is distinguished by plebeian grossness, and savage indecency. To misrepresent the actions and the principles of their enemies is common to all parties; but the insolence of invective, and brutality of reproach, which have lately prevailed, are peculiar to this.

An infallible characteristick of meanness is cruelty. This is the only faction that has shouted at the condemnation of a criminal, and that, when his innocence procured his pardon, has clamoured for his blood.

All other parties, however enraged at each other, have agreed to treat the throne with decency; but these low-born railers have attacked not only the authority, but the character of their sovereign, and have endeavoured, surely without effect, to alienate the affections of the people from the only king, who, for almost a century, has much appeared to desire, or much endeavoured to deserve them. They have insulted him with rudeness and with menaces, which were never excited by the gloomy sullenness of *William*, even when half the nation denied him their allegiance; nor by the dangerous bigotry of *James*, unless when he was finally driven from his palace; and with which scarcely the open hostilities of rebellion ventured to vilify the unhappy *Charles*, even in the remarks on the cabinet of *Naseby*.

It is surely not unreasonable to hope, that the nation will consult its dignity, if not its safety, and disdain to be protected or enslaved by the declaimers

or the plotters of a city-tavern. Had *Rome* fallen by the *Catilinarian* conſpiracy, ſhe might have conſoled her fate by the greatneſs of her deſtroyers; but what would have alleviated the diſgrace of *England*, had her government been changed by *Tiler* or by *Ket?*

One part of the nation has never before contended with the other, but for ſome weighty and apparent intereſt. If the means were violent, the end was great. The civil war was fought for what each army called and believed the beſt religion, and the beſt government. The ſtruggle in the reign of *Anne*, was to exclude or reſtore an exile king. We are now diſputing, with almoſt equal animoſity, whether *Middleſex* ſhall be repreſented or not by a criminal from a jail.

The only comfort left in ſuch degeneracy is that a lower ſtate can be no longer poſſible.

In this contemptuous cenſure, I mean not to include every ſingle man. In all lead, ſays the chemiſt, there is ſilver; and in all copper there is gold. But mingled maſſes are juſtly denominated by the greater quantity, and when the precious particles are not worth extraction, a faction and a pig muſt be melted down together to the forms and offices that chance allots them.

*Fiunt urceoli, pelves, ſartago, patellæ.*

A few weeks will now ſhew whether the government can be ſhaken by empty noiſe, and whether the faction which depends upon its influence, has not deceived alike the Publick and itſelf. That it ſhould have continued till now, is ſufficiently ſhameful. None can indeed wonder that it has been ſupported

ported by the ſectaries, the natural fomenters of ſedition, and confederates of the rabble, of whoſe religion little now remains but hatred of eſtabliſhments, and who are angry to find ſeparation now only tolerated, which was once rewarded; but every honeſt man muſt lament, that it has been regarded with frigid neutrality by the tories, who, being long accuſtomed to ſignalize their principles by oppoſition to the court, do not yet conſider that they have at laſt a king who knows not the name of party, and who wiſhes to be the common father of all his people.

As a man inebriated only by vapours, ſoon recovers in the open air; a nation diſcontented to madneſs, without any adequate cauſe, will return to its wits and its allegiance when a little pauſe has cooled it to reflection. Nothing, therefore, is neceſſary, at this *alarming criſis*, but to conſider the alarm as falſe. To make conceſſions, is to encourage encroachment. Let the court deſpiſe the faction, and the diſappointed people will ſoon deride it.

# THOUGHTS

ON THE

## LATE TRANSACTIONS

RESPECTING

# FALKLAND's ISLANDS.

[1771.]

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TO proportion the eagerneſs of conteſt to its importance ſeems too hard a taſk for human wiſdom. The pride of wit has kept ages buſy in the diſcuſſion of uſeleſs queſtions, and the pride of power has deſtroyed armies to gain or to keep unprofitable poſſeſſions.

Not many years have paſſed ſince the cruelties of war were filling the world with terror and with ſorrow; rage was at laſt appeaſed, or ſtrength exhauſted, and to the haraſſed nations peace was reſtored, with its pleaſures and its benefits. Of this ſtate all felt the happineſs, and all implored the continuance; but what continuance of happineſs can be expected, when the whole ſyſtem of *European* empire can be in danger of a new concuſſion, by a contention for a few ſpots of earth, which, in the deſerts of the ocean, had almoſt eſcaped human notice, and which, if they had not happened to make a ſea-mark, had perhaps never had a name?

Fortune

Fortune often delights to dignify what nature has neglected, and that renown which cannot be claimed by intrinsick excellence or greatness, is sometimes derived from unexpected accidents. The *Rubicon* was ennobled by the passage of *Cæsar*, and the time is now come when *Falkland*'s *Islands* demand their historian.

But the writer to whom this employment shall be assigned, will have few opportunities of descriptive splendor, or narrative elegance. Of other countries it is told how often they have changed their government; these islands have hitherto changed only their name. Of heroes to conquer, or legislators to civilize, here has been no appearance; nothing has happened to them but that they have been sometimes seen by wandering navigators, who passed by them in search of better habitations.

When the *Spaniards*, who, under the conduct of *Columbus*, discovered *America*, had taken possession of its most wealthy regions; they surprised and terrified *Europe* by a sudden and unexampled influx of riches. They were made at once insupportably insolent, and might perhaps have become irresistibly powerful, had not their mountainous treasures been scattered in the air with the ignorant profusion of unaccustomed opulence.

The greater part of the *European* potentates saw this stream of riches flowing into *Spain* without attempting to dip their own hands in the golden fountain. *France* had no naval skill or power; *Portugal* was extending her dominions in the east over regions formed in the gaiety of nature; the *Hanseatick* league,

being planned only for the ſecurity of traffick, had no tendency to diſcovery or invaſion; and the commercial ſtates of *Italy* growing rich by trading betwen *Aſia* and *Europe*, and not lying upon the ocean, did not deſire to ſeek by great hazards, at a diſtance, what was almoſt at home to be found with ſafety.

The *Engliſh* alone were animated by the ſucceſs of the *Spaniſh* navigators, to try if any thing was left that might reward adventure, or incite appropriation. They ſent *Cabot* into the north, but in the north there was no gold or ſilver to be found. The beſt regions were pre-occupied, yet they ſtill continued their hopes and their labours. They were the ſecond nation that dared the extent of the *Pacifick Ocean*, and the ſecond circumnavigators of the globe.

By the war between *Elizabeth* and *Philip*, the wealth of *America* became lawful prize, and thoſe who were leſs afraid of danger than of poverty, ſuppoſed that riches might eaſily be obtained by plundering the *Spaniards*. Nothing is difficult when gain and honour unite their influence; the ſpirit and vigour of theſe expeditions enlarged our views of the new world, and made us firſt acquainted with its remoter coaſts.

In the fatal voyage of *Cavendiſh* (1592), Captain *Davis*, who, being ſent out as his aſſociate, was afterwards parted from him or deſerted him, as he was driven by violence of weather about the ſtraits of *Magellan*, is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt who ſaw the lands now called *Falkland*'s *Iſlands*, but his diſtreſs permitted him not to make any obſervation, and he left them, as he found them, without a name.

Not

Not long afterwards (1594) Sir *Richard Hawkins*, being in the ſame ſeas with the ſame deſigns, ſaw theſe iſlands again, if they are indeed the ſame iſlands, and in honour of his miſtreſs, called them *Hawkins's Maiden Land.*

This voyage was not of renown ſufficient to procure a general reception to the new name, for when the *Dutch*, who had now become ſtrong enough not only to defend themſelves, but to attack their maſters, ſent (1598) *Verhagen* and *Sebald de Wert*, into the *South Seas*, theſe iſlands, which were not ſuppoſed to have been known before, obtained the denomination of *Sebald's Iſlands*, and were from that time placed in the charts; though *Frezier* tells us, that they were yet conſidered as of doubtful exiſtence.

Their preſent *Engliſh* name was probably given them (1689) by *Strong*, whoſe journal, yet unprinted, may be found in the Muſeum. This name was adopted by *Halley*, and has from that time, I believe, been received into our maps.

The privateers which were put into motion by the wars of *William* and *Anne*, ſaw thoſe iſlands and mention them; but they were yet not conſidered as territories worth a conteſt. *Strong* affirmed that there was no wood, and *Dampier* ſuſpected that they had no water.

*Frezier* deſcribes their appearance with more diſtinctneſs, and mentions ſome ſhips of *St. Maloes*, by which they had been viſited, and to which he ſeems willing enough to aſcribe the honour of diſcovering iſlands which yet he admits to have been ſeen by *Hawkins*, and named by *Sebald de Wert*. He, I ſuppoſe,

pose, in honour of his countrymen, called them the *Malouines*, the denomination now used by the *Spaniards*, who seem not, till very lately, to have thought them important enough to deserve a name.

Since the publication of *Anson*'s voyage, they have very much changed their opinion, finding a settlement in *Pepys*'s or *Falkland*'s *Island* recommended by the author as necessary to the success of our future expeditions against the coast of *Chili*, and as of such use and importance, that it would produce many advantages in peace, and in war would make us masters of the *South Sea*.

Scarcely any degree of judgment is sufficient to restrain the imagination from magnifying that on which it is long detained. The relator of *Anson*'s voyage had heated his mind with its various events, had partaken the hope with which it was begun, and the vexation suffered by its various miscarriages, and then thought nothing could be of greater benefit to the nation than that which might promote the success of such another enterprise.

Had the heroes of that history even performed and attained all that when they first spread their sails they ventured to hope, the consequence would yet have produced very little hurt to the *Spaniards*, and very little benefit to the *English*. They would have taken a few towns; *Anson* and his companions would have shared the plunder or the ransom; and the *Spaniards*, finding their southern territories accessible, would for the future have guarded them better.

That such a settlement may be of use in war, no man that considers its situation will deny. But war is not the whole business of life; it happens but seldom,

feldom, and every man, either good or wife, wifhes that its frequency were ftill lefs. That conduct which betrays defigns of future hoftility, if it does not excite violence, will always generate malignity; it muft for ever exclude confidence and friendfhip, and continue a cold and fluggifh rivalry, by a fly reciprocation of indirect injuries, without the bravery of war, or the fecurity of peace.

The advaatage of fuch a fettlement in time of peace is, I think, not eafily to be proved. For what ufe can it have but of a ftation for contraband traders, a nurfery of fraud, and a receptacle of theft? *Narborough*, about a century ago, was of opinion, that no advantage could be obtained in voyages to the *South Sea*, except by fuch an armament as, with a failor's morality, *might trade by force*. It is well known that the prohibitions of foreign commerce are, in thefe countries, to the laft degree rigorous, and that no man not authorized by the king of *Spain* can trade there but by force or ftealth. Whatever profit is obtained muft be gained by the violence of rapine, or dexterity of fraud.

Government will not perhaps foon arrive at fuch purity and excellence, but that fome connivance at leaft will be indulged to the triumphant robber and fuccefsful cheat. He that brings wealth home is feldom interrogated by what means it was obtained. This, however, is one of thofe modes of corruption with which mankind ought always to ftruggle, and which they may in time hope to overcome. There is reafon to expect, that as the world is more enlightened, policy and morality will at laft be reconciled,

ciled, and that nations will learn not to do what they would not ſuffer.

But the ſilent toleration of ſuſpected guilt is a degree of depravity far below that which openly incites and manifeſtly protects it. To pardon a pirate may be injurious to mankind; but how much greater is the crime of opening a port in which all pirates ſhall be ſafe? The contraband trader is not more worthy of protection: if with *Narborough* he trades by force, he is a pirate; if he trades ſecretly, he is only a thief. Thoſe who honeſtly refuſe his traffick he hates as obſtructors of his profit; and thoſe with whom he deals he cheats, becauſe he knows that they dare not complain. He lives with a heart full of that malignity which fear of detection always generates in thoſe who are to defend unjuſt acquiſitions againſt lawful authority; and when he comes home with riches thus acquired, he brings a mind hardened in evil, too proud for reproof, and too ſtupid for reflection; he offends the high by his inſolence, and corrupts the low by his example.

Whether theſe truths were forgotten or deſpiſed, or whether ſome better purpoſe was then in agitation, the repreſentation made in *Anſon*'s voyage had ſuch effect upon the ſtateſmen of that time, that (in 1748) ſome ſloops were fitted out for the fuller knowledge of *Pepys*'s and *Falkland*'s *Iſlands*, and for further diſcoveries in the *South Sea*. This expedition, though perhaps deſigned to be ſecret, was not long concealed from *Wall*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, who ſo vehemently oppoſed it, and ſo ſtrongly maintained the right of the *Spaniards* to the excluſive dominion of the *South Sea*, that

that the *English* miniftry relinquifhed part of their original defign, and declared that the examination of thofe two iflands was the utmoft that their orders fhould comprife.

This conceffion was fufficiently liberal or fufficiently fubmiffive; yet the *Spanifh* court was neither gratified by our kindnefs, nor foftened by our humility. Sir *Benjamin Keene*, who then refided at *Madrid*, was interrogated by *Carvajal* concerning the vifit intended to *Pepys*'s and *Falkland*'s *Iflands* in terms of great jealoufy and difcontent; and the intended expedition was reprefented, if not as a direct violation of the late peace, yet as an act inconfiftent with amicable intentions, and contrary to the profeffions of mutual kindnefs which then paffed between *Spain* and *England*. *Keene* was directed to proteft that nothing more than mere difcovery was intended, and that no fettlement was to be eftablifhed. The *Spaniard* readily replied, that if this was a voyage of wanton curiofity, it might be gratified with lefs trouble, for he was willing to communicate whatever was known; that to go fo far only to come back, was no reafonable act; and it would be a flender facrifice to peace and friendfhip to omit a voyage in which nothing was to be gained: that if we left the places as we found them, the voyage was ufelefs; and if we took poffeffion, it was a hoftile armament, nor could we expect that the *Spaniards* would fuppofe us to vifit the fouthern parts of *America* only from curiofity, after the fcheme propofed by the author of *Anfon*'s voyage.

When once we had difowned all purpofe of fettling, it is apparent that we could not defend the

No token was ſeen by either, of any ſettlement ever made upon this iſland, and Mr. *Macbride* thought himſelf ſo ſecure from hoſtile diſturbance, that when he erected his wooden blockhouſe he omitted to open the ports and loopholes.

When a garriſon was ſtationed at *Port Egmont*, it was neceſſary to try what ſuſtenance the ground could be by culture excited to produce. A garden was prepared, but the plants that ſprung up, withered away in immaturity. Some fir-ſeeds were ſown; but though this be the native tree of rugged climates, the young firs that roſe above the ground died like weaker herbage. The cold continued long, and the ocean ſeldom was at reſt.

Cattle ſucceeded better than vegetables. Goats, ſheep, and hogs, that were carried thither, were found to thrive and increaſe as in other places.

*Nil mortalibus arduum eſt.* There is nothing which human courage will not undertake, and little that human patience will not endure. The garriſon lived upon *Falkland*'s *Iſland*, ſhrinking from the blaſt, and ſhuddering at the billows.

This was a colony which could never become independent, for it never could be able to maintain itſelf. The neceſſary ſupplies were annually ſent from *England*, at an expence which the Admiralty began to think would not quickly be repaid. But ſhame of deſerting a project, and unwillingneſs to contend with a projector that meant well, continued the garriſon, and ſupplied it with regular remittances of ſtores and proviſion.

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But on the 28th of *November* 1769, Captain *Hunt*, obſerving a *Spaniſh* ſchooner hovering about the iſland and ſurveying it, ſent the commander a meſſage, by which he required him to depart. The *Spaniard* made an appearance of obeying, but in two days came back with letters written by the governor of *Port Solidad*, and brought by the chief officer of a ſettlement on the eaſt part of *Falkland's Iſland*.

In this letter, dated *Malouina, November* 30, the governor complains, that Captain *Hunt*, when he ordered the ſchooner to depart, aſſumed a power to which he could have no pretenſions, by ſending an imperious meſſage to the *Spaniards* in the king of *Spain's* own dominions.

In another letter ſent at the ſame time, he ſuppoſes the *Engliſh* to be in that part only by accident, and to be ready to depart at the firſt warning. This letter was accompanied by a preſent, of which, ſays he, *if it be neither equal to my deſire nor to your merit, you muſt impute the deficiency to the ſituation of us both.*

In return to this hoſtile civility, Captain *Hunt* warned them from the iſland, which he claimed in the name of the king, as belonging to the *Engliſh* by right of the firſt diſcovery and the firſt ſettlement.

This was an aſſertion of more confidence than certainty. The right of diſcovery indeed has already appeared to be probable, but the right which priority

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That of which we were almoſt weary ourſelves, we did not expect any one to envy; and therefore

ſuppoſed that we ſhould be permitted to reſide in *Falkland's Iſland*, the undiſputed lords of tempeſt-beaten barrenneſs.

But on the 28th of *November* 1769, Captain *Hunt*, obſerving a *Spaniſh* ſchooner hovering about the iſland and ſurveying it, ſent the commander a meſſage, by which he required him to depart. The *Spaniard* made an appearance of obeying, but in two days came back with letters written by the governor of *Port Solidad*, and brought by the chief officer of a ſettlement on the eaſt part of *Falkland's Iſland*.

In this letter, dated *Malouina, November* 30, the governor complains, that Captain *Hunt*, when he ordered the ſchooner to depart, aſſumed a power to which he could have no pretenſions, by ſending an imperious meſſage to the *Spaniards* in the king of *Spain's* own dominions.

In another letter ſent at the ſame time, he ſuppoſes the *Engliſh* to be in that part only by accident, and to be ready to depart at the firſt warning. This letter was accompanied by a preſent, of which, ſays he, *if it be neither equal to my deſire nor to your merit, you muſt impute the deficiency to the ſituation of us both.*

In return to this hoſtile civility, Captain *Hunt* warned them from the iſland, which he claimed in the name of the king, as belonging to the *Engliſh* by right of the firſt diſcovery and the firſt ſettlement.

This was an aſſertion of more confidence than certainty. The right of diſcovery indeed has already appeared to be probable, but the right which priority

priority of ſettlement confers I know not whether we yet can eſtabliſh.

On *December* 10, the officer ſent by the Governor of *Port Solidad* made three proteſts againſt Captain *Hunt*; for threatening to fire upon him; for oppoſing his entrance into *Port Egmont*; and for entering himſelf into *Port Solidad.* On the 12th the Governor of *Port Solidad* formally warned Captain *Hunt* to leave *Port Egmont*, and to forbear the navigation of theſe ſeas, without permiſſion from the king of *Spain.*

To this Captain *Hunt* replied by repeating his former claim; by declaring that his orders were to keep poſſeſſion; and by once more warning the *Spaniards* to depart.

The next month produced more proteſts and more replies, of which the tenor was nearly the ſame. The operations of ſuch harmleſs enmity having produced no effect, were then reciprocally diſcontinued, and the *Engliſh* were left for a time to enjoy the pleaſures of *Falkland*'s *Iſland* without moleſtation.

This tranquillity, however, did not laſt long. A few months afterwards (*June* 4, 1770) the *Induſtry*, a *Spaniſh* frigate, commanded by an officer whoſe name was *Madariaga*, anchored in *Port Egmont*, bound, as was ſaid, for *Port Solidad*, and reduced, by a paſſage from *Buenos Ayres* of fifty-three days, to want of water.

Three days afterwards four other frigates entered the port, and a broad pendant, ſuch as is borne by the commander of a naval armament, was diſplayed from

from the *Induſtry*. Captain *Farmer* of the *Swift* frigate, who commanded the garriſon, ordered the crew of the *Swift* to come on ſhore, and aſſiſt in its defence; and directed captain *Maltby* to bring the *Favourite* frigate, which he commanded, nearer to the land. The *Spaniards* eaſily diſcovering the purpoſe of his motion, let him know, that if he weighed his anchor, they would fire upon his ſhip; but paying no regard to theſe menaces, he advanced towards the ſhore. The *Spaniſh* fleet followed, and two ſhots were fired, which fell at a diſtance from him. He then ſent to inquire the reaſon of ſuch hoſtility, and was told that the ſhots were intended only as ſignals.

Both the *Engliſh* Captains wrote the next day to *Madariaga* the *Spaniſh* Commodore, warning him from the iſland, as from a place which the *Engliſh* held by right of diſcovery.

*Madariaga*, who ſeems to have had no deſire of unneceſſary miſchief, invited them (*June* 9.) to ſend an officer who ſhould take a view of his forces, that they might be convinced of the vanity of reſiſtance, and do that without compulſion which he was upon refuſal prepared to enforce.

An officer was ſent, who found ſixteen hundred men, with a train of twenty-ſeven cannon, four mortars, and two hundred bombs. The fleet conſiſted of five frigates, from twenty to thirty guns, which were now ſtationed oppoſite to the Blockhouſe.

He then ſent them a formal memorial, in which he maintained his maſter's right to the whole *Magellanick* region, and exhorted the *Engliſh* to retire quietly

quietly from the ſettlement, which they could neither juſtify by right, nor maintain by power.

He offered them the liberty of carrying away whatever they were deſirous to remove, and promiſed his receipt for what ſhould be left, that no loſs might be ſuffered by them.

His propoſitions were expreſſed in terms of great civility; but he concludes with demanding an anſwer in fifteen minutes.

Having while he was writing received the letters of warning written the day before by the *Engliſh* Captains, he told them, that he thought himſelf able to prove the king of *Spain*'s title to all thoſe countries, but that this was no time for verbal altercations. He perſiſted in his determination, and allowed only fifteen minutes for an anſwer.

To this it was replied by Captain *Farmer*, that though there had been preſcribed yet a ſhorter time, he ſhould ſtill reſolutely defend his charge; that this, whether menace or force, would be conſidered as an inſult on the *Britiſh* flag, and that ſatisfaction would certainly be required.

On the next day (*June* 10.) *Madariaga* landed his forces, and it may be eaſily imagined that he had no bloody conqueſt. The *Engliſh* had only a wooden blockhouſe built at *Woolwich*, and carried in pieces to the iſland, with a ſmall battery of cannon. To contend with obſtinacy had been only to laviſh life without uſe or hope. After the exchange of a very few ſhots, a capitulation was propoſed.

The *Spaniſh* Commander acted with moderation; he exerted little of the conqueror; what he had offered before the attack, he granted after victory;

victory; the *Engliſh* were allowed to leave the place with every honour, only their departure was delayed by the terms of the capitulation twenty days; and to ſecure their ſtay, the rudder of the *Favourite* was taken off. What they deſired to carry away they removed without moleſtation; and of what they left an inventory was drawn, for which the *Spaniſh* officer by his receipt promiſed to be accountable.

Of this petty revolution, ſo ſudden and ſo diſtant, the *Engliſh* miniſtry could not poſſibly have ſuch notice as might enable them to prevent it. The conqueſt, if ſuch it may be called, coſt but three days; for the *Spaniards*, either ſuppoſing the garriſon ſtronger than it was, or reſolving to truſt nothing to chance, or conſidering that, as their force was greater, there was leſs danger of bloodſhed, came with a power that made reſiſtance ridiculous, and at once demanded and obtained poſſeſſion.

The firſt account of any diſcontent expreſſed by the *Spaniards* was brought by Captain *Hunt*, who arriving at *Plymouth June* 3, 1770, informed the Admiralty that the iſland had been claimed in *December* by the Governor of *Port Solidad*.

This claim, made by an officer of ſo little dignity, without any known direction from his ſuperiors, could be conſidered only as the zeal or officiouſneſs of an individual, unworthy of publick notice, or the formality of remonſtrance.

In *Auguſt* Mr. *Harris*, the reſident at *Madrid*, gave notice to lord *Weymouth* of an account newly brought to *Cadiz*, that the *Engliſh* were in poſſeſſion of *Port Cuizada*, the ſame which we call *Port Eg-* *[illegible]t*, in the *Magellanick* ſea; that in *January* they had

had warned away two *Spaniſh* ſhips; and that an armament was ſent out in *May* from *Buenos Ayres* to diſlodge them.

It was perhaps not yet certain that this account was true; but the information, however faithful, was too late for prevention. It was eaſily known, that a fleet diſpatched in *May* had before *Auguſt* ſucceeded or miſcarried.

In *October*, Captain *Maltby* came to *England*, and gave the account which I have now epitomiſed, of his expulſion from *Falkland*'s *Iſlands*.

From this moment the whole nation can witneſs that no time was loſt. The navy was ſurveyed, the ſhips refitted, and commanders appointed; and a powerful fleet was aſſembled, well manned and well ſtored, with expedition after ſo long a peace perhaps never known before, and with vigour which after the waſte of ſo long a war ſcarcely any other nation had been capable of exerting.

This preparation, ſo illuſtrious in the eyes of *Europe*, and ſo efficacious in its event, was obſtructed by the utmoſt power of that noiſy faction which has too long filled the kingdom, ſometimes with the roar of empty menace, and ſometimes with the yell of hypocritical lamentation. Every man ſaw, and every honeſt man ſaw with deteſtation, that they who deſired to force their ſovereign into war, endeavoured at the ſame time to diſable him from action.

The vigour and ſpirit of the miniſtry eaſily broke through all the machinations of theſe pygmy rebels, and our armament was quickly ſuch as was likely to make our negociations effectual.

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The prince of *Masseran*, in his first conference with the *English* ministers on this occasion, owned that he had from *Madrid* received intelligence that the *English* had been forcibly expelled from *Falkland*'s *Island* by *Buccarelli*, the governor of *Buenos Ayres*, without any particular orders from the king of *Spain*. But being asked, whether in his master's name he disavowed *Buccarelli*'s violence, he refused to answer without direction.

The scene of negociation was now removed to *Madrid*, and in *September* Mr. *Harris* was directed to demand from *Grimaldi* the *Spanish* minister the restitution of *Falkland*'s *Island*, and a disavowal of *Buccarelli*'s hostilities.

It was to be expected that *Grimaldi* would object to us our own behaviour, who had ordered the *Spaniards* to depart from the same island. To this it was replied, That the *English* forces were indeed directed to warn other nations away; but if compliance were refused, to proceed quietly in making their settlement, and suffer the subjects of whatever power to remain there without molestation. By possession thus taken, there was only a disputable claim advanced, which might be peaceably and regularly decided, without insult and without force; and if the *Spaniards* had complained at the *British* court, their reasons would have been heard, and all injuries redressed; but that, by presupposing the justice of their own title, and having recourse to arms, without any previous notice or remonstrance, they had violated the peace, and insulted the *British* government; and therefore it was expected that satisfaction should be

made by publick disavowal and immediate restitution.

The answer of *Grimaldi* was ambiguous and cold. He did not allow that any particular orders had been given for driving the *English* from their settlement; but made no scruple of declaring, that such an ejection was nothing more than the settlers might have expected; and that *Buccarelli* had not, in his opinion, incurred any blame, as the general injunctions to the *American* governors were, to suffer no incroachments on the *Spanish* dominions.

In *October* the prince of *Masseran* proposed a convention for the accommodation of differences by mutual concessions, in which the warning given to the *Spaniards* by *Hunt* should be disavowed on one side, and the violence used by *Buccarelli* on the other. This offer was considered as little less than a new insult, and *Grimaldi* was told, that injury required reparation; that when either party had suffered evident wrong, there was not the parity subsisting which is implied in conventions and contracts; that we considered ourselves as openly insulted, and demanded satisfaction plenary and unconditional.

*Grimaldi* affected to wonder that we were not yet appeased by their concessions. They had, he said, granted all that was required; they had offered to restore the island in the state in which they found it; but he thought that they likewise might hope for some regard, and that the warning sent by *Hunt* would be disavowed.

Mr. *Harris*, our minister at *Madrid*, insisted that the injured party had a right to unconditional reparation,

ration, and *Grimaldi* delayed his anſwer that a council might be called. In a few days orders were diſpatched to prince *Maſſeran*, by which he was commiſſioned to declare the king of *Spain*'s readineſs to ſatisfy the demands of the king of *England*, in expectation of receiving from him reciprocal ſatisfaction, by the diſavowal, ſo often required, of *Hunt*'s warning.

Finding the *Spaniards* diſpoſed to make no other acknowledgments, the *Engliſh* miniſtry conſidered a war as not likely to be long avoided. In the latter end of *November* private notice was given of their danger to the merchants at *Cadiz*, and the officers abſent from *Gibraltar* were remanded to their poſts. Our naval force was every day increaſed, and we made no abatement of our original demand.

The obſtinacy of the *Spaniſh* court ſtill continued, and about the end of the year all hope of reconciliation was ſo nearly extinguiſhed, that Mr. *Harris* was directed to withdraw, with the uſual forms, from his reſidence at *Madrid*.

Moderation is commonly firm, and firmneſs is commonly ſucceſsful; having not ſwelled our firſt requiſition with any ſuperfluous appendages, we had nothing to yield, we therefore only repeated our firſt propoſition, prepared for war, though deſirous of peace.

About this time, as is well known, the king of *France* diſmiſſed *Choiſeul* from his employments. What effect this revolution of the *French* court had upon the *Spaniſh* counſels, I pretend not to be informed. *Choiſeul* had always profeſſed pacifick diſ-

 poſitions,

positions, nor is it certain, however it may be suspected, that he talked in different strains to different parties.

It seems to be almost the universal error of historians to suppose it politically, as it is physically true, that every effect has a proportionate cause. In the inanimate action of matter upon matter, the motion produced can be but equal to the force of the moving power; but the operations of life, whether private or publick, admit no such laws. The caprices of voluntary agents laugh at calculation. It is not always that there is a strong reason for a great event. Obstinacy and flexibility, malignity and kindness, give place alternately to each other, and the reason of these vicissitudes, however important may be the consequences, often escapes the mind in which the change is made.

Whether the alteration which began in *January* to appear in the *Spanish* counsels, had any other cause than conviction of the impropriety of their past conduct, and of the danger of a new war, it is not easy to decide; but they began, whatever was the reason, to relax their haughtiness, and Mr. *Harris*'s departure was countermanded.

The demands first made by *England* were still continued, and on *January* 22d, the prince of *Masseran* delivered a declaration, in which the king of *Spain* *disavows the violent enterprise* of *Buccarelli*, and promises *to restore the port and fort called* Egmont, *with all the artillery and stores, according to the inventory.*

To this promise of restitution is subjoined that *this engagement to restore* Port Egmont, *cannot, nor ought*

*in*

*in any wise to affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of the* Malouine *otherwise called* Falkland's Islands.

This concession was accepted by the Earl of *Rochford*, who declared on the part of his master, that the prince of *Masseran* being authorized by his catholick majesty, *to offer in his majesty's name to the king of* Great Britain, *a satisfaction for the injury done him by dispossessing him of* Port Egmont, and having signed a declaration expressing that his catholick majesty *disavows the expedition against* Port Egmont, and engages to restore it in the state in which it stood before the 10th of *June* 1770, *his* Britannick *majesty will look upon the said declaration, together with the full performance of the engagement on the part of his catholick majesty, as a satisfaction for the injury done to the crown of* Great Britain.

This is all that was originally demanded. The expedition is disavowed, and the island is restored. An injury is acknowledged by the reception of Lord *Rochford*'s paper, who twice mentions the word *injury* and twice the word *satisfaction*.

The *Spaniards* have stipulated that the grant of possession shall not preclude the question of prior right, a question which we shall probably make no haste to discuss, and a right of which no formal resignation was ever required. This reserve has supplied matter for much clamour, and perhaps the *English* ministry would have been better pleased had the declaration been without it. But when we have obtained all that was asked, why should we complain that we have not more? When the possession is conceded, where is the evil that the right, which that con-

cession supposes to be merely hypothetical, is referred to the *Greek* calends for a future disquisition? Were the *Switzers* less free or less secure, because after their defection from the house of *Austria* they had never been declared independent before the treaty of *Westphalia?* Is the king of *France* less a sovereign because the king of *England* partakes his title?

If sovereignty implies undisputed right, scarce any prince is a sovereign through his whole dominions; if sovereignty consists in this, that no superior is acknowledged, our king reigns at *Port Egmont* with sovereign authority. Almost every new acquired territory is in some degree controvertible, and till the controversy is decided, a term very difficult to be fixed, all that can be had is real possession and actual dominion.

This surely is a sufficient answer to the feudal gabble of a man who is every day lessening that splendour of character which once illuminated the kingdom, then dazzled, and afterwards inflamed it; and for whom it will be happy if the nation shall at last dismiss him to nameless obscurity, with that equipoise of blame and praise which *Corneille* allows to *Richlieu*, a man who, I think, had much of his merit, and many of his faults.

*Chacun parle a son gre de ce grand Cardinal,*
*Mais pour moi je n'en dirai rien;*
*Il m' a fait trop de bien pour en dire du mal,*
*Il m' a fait trop de mal pour en dire du bien.*

To push advantages too far is neither generous nor just. Had we insisted on a concession of antecedent

cedent right, it may not misbecome us, either as moralists or politicians, to consider what *Grimaldi* could have answered. We have already, he might say, granted you the whole effect of right, and have not denied you the name. We have not said that the right was ours before this concession, but only that what right we had, is not by this concession vacated. We have now for more than two centuries ruled large tracts of the *American* continent, by a claim which perhaps is valid only upon this consideration, that no power can produce a better; by the right of discovery and prior settlement. And by such titles almost all the dominions of the earth are holden, except that their original is beyond memory, and greater obscurity gives them greater veneration. Should we allow this plea to be annulled, the whole fabrick of our empire shakes at the foundation. When you suppose yourselves to have first descried the disputed island, you suppose what you can hardly prove. We were at least the general discoverers of the *Magellanick* region, and have hitherto held it with all its adjacencies. The justice of this tenure the world has hitherto admitted, and yourselves at least tacitly allowed it, when about twenty years ago you desisted from your purposed expedition, and expresly disowned any design of settling, where you are now not content to settle and to reign, without extorting such a confession of original right, as may invite every other nation to follow you.

To considerations such as these, it is reasonable to impute that anxiety of the *Spaniards*, from which

the importance of this iſland is inferred by *Junius*, one of the few writers of his deſpicable faction whoſe name does not diſgrace the page of an opponent. The value of the thing diſputed may be very different to him that gains and him that loſes it. The *Spaniards*, by yielding *Falkland*'s *Iſland*, have admitted a precedent of what they think encroachment; have ſuffered a breach to be made in the outworks of their empire; and, notwithſtanding the reſerve of prior right, have ſuffered a dangerous exception to the preſcriptive tenure of their *American* territories.

Such is the loſs of *Spain*; let us now compute the profit of *Britain*. We have, by obtaining a diſavowal of *Buccarelli*'s expedition, and a reſtitution of our ſettlement, maintained the honour of the crown, and the ſuperiority of our influence. Beyond this what have we acquired? What, but a bleak and gloomy ſolitude, an iſland thrown aſide from human uſe, ſtormy in winter, and barren in ſummer; an iſland which not the ſouthern ſavages have dignified with habitation: where a garriſon muſt be kept in a ſtate that contemplates with envy the exiles of *Siberia*; of which the expence will be perpetual, and the uſe only occaſional; and which, if fortune ſmile upon our labours, may become a neſt of ſmugglers in peace, and in war the refuge of future Buccaniers. To all this the government has now given ample atteſtation, for the iſland has been ſince abandoned, and perhaps was kept only to quiet clamours, with an intention, not then wholly concealed, of quitting it in a ſhort time.

This

This is the country of which we have now poſſeſſion, and of which a numerous party pretends to wiſh that we had murdered thouſands for the titular ſovereignty. To charge any men with ſuch madneſs, approaches to an accuſation defeated by its own incredibility. As they have been long accumulating falſehoods, it is poſſible that they are now only adding another to the heap, and that they do not mean all that they profeſs. But of this faction what evil may not be credited? They have hitherto ſhewn no virtue, and very little wit, beyond that miſchievous cunning for which it is held by *Hale* that children may be hanged.

As war is the laſt of remedies, *cuncta prius tentanda*, all lawful expedients muſt be uſed to avoid it. As war is the extremity of evil, it is ſurely the duty of thoſe whoſe ſtation intruſts them with the care of nations, to avert it from their charge. There are diſeaſes of animal nature which nothing but amputation can remove; ſo there may, by the depravation of human paſſions, be ſometimes a gangrene in collective life for which fire and the ſword are the neceſſary remedies; but in what can ſkill or caution be better ſhewn than preventing ſuch dreadful operations, while there is yet room for gentler methods?

It is wonderful with what coolneſs and indifference the greater part of mankind ſee war commenced. Thoſe that hear of it at a diſtance, or read of it in books, but have never preſented its evils to their minds, conſider it as little more than a ſplendid game, a proclamation, an army, a battle, and a triumph. Some indeed muſt periſh in the moſt ſucceſsful field,

but

but they die upon the bed of honour, *resign their lives amidst the joys of conquest, and, filled with* England's *glory, smile in death.*

The life of a modern soldier is ill represented by heroick fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the sword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our late contests with *France* and *Spain*, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale, torpid, spiritless, and helpless; gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery; and were at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. By incommodious encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless, and enterprise impracticable, fleets are silently dispeopled, and armies sluggishly melted away.

Thus is a people gradually exhausted, for the most part, with little effect. The wars of civilized nations make very slow changes in the system of empire. The publick perceives scarcely any alteration but an increase of debt; and the few individuals who are benefited, are not supposed to have the clearest right to their advantages. If he that shared the danger enjoyed the profit, and after bleeding in the battle grew rich by the victory, he might shew his gains without envy. But at the conclusion of a ten years war, how are we recompensed for the death of multitudes and the expence of millions, but by contemplating the sudden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries, whose equipages shine

like meteors, and whoſe palaces riſe like exhalations?

Theſe are the men who, without virtue, labour, or hazard, are growing rich as their country is impoveriſhed; they rejoice when obſtinacy or ambition adds another year to ſlaughter and devaſtation; and laugh from their deſks at bravery and ſcience, while they are adding figure to figure, and cipher to cipher, hoping for a new contract from a new armament, and computing the profits of a ſiege or tempeſt.

Thoſe who ſuffer their minds to dwell on theſe conſiderations will think it no great crime in the miniſtry that they have not ſnatched with eagerneſs the firſt opportunity of ruſhing into the field, when they were able to obtain by quiet negociation all the real good that victory could have brought us.

Of victory indeed every nation is confident before the ſword is drawn; and this mutual confidence produces that wantonneſs of bloodſhed that has ſo often deſolated the world. But it is evident, that of contradictory opinions one muſt be wrong, and the hiſtory of mankind does not want examples that may teach caution to the daring, and moderation to the proud.

Let us not think our laurels blaſted by condeſcending to inquire, whether we might not poſſibly grow rather leſs than greater by attacking *Spain*? Whether we ſhould have to contend with *Spain* alone, whatever has been promiſed by our patriots, may very reaſonably be doubted. A war declared for the empty ſound of an ancient title to a *Magellanick* rock, would raiſe the indignation of the earth againſt

againſt us. Theſe encroachers on the waſte of nature, ſays our ally the *Ruſſian*, if they ſucceed in their firſt effort of uſurpation, will make war upon us for a title to *Kamſchatſcha*. Theſe univerſal ſettlers, ſays our ally the *Dane*, will in a ſhort time ſettle upon *Greenland*, and a fleet will batter *Copenhagen*, till we are willing to confeſs that it always was their own.

In a quarrel like this, it is not poſſible that any power ſhould favour us, and it is very likely that ſome would oppoſe us. The *French*, we are told, are otherwiſe employed; the conteſts between the king of *France* and his own ſubjects are ſufficient to withhold him from ſupporting *Spain*. But who does not know that a foreign war has often put a ſtop to civil diſcords? It withdraws the attention of the publick from domeſtick grievances, and affords opportunities of diſmiſſing the turbulent and reſtleſs to diſtant employments. The *Spaniards* have always an argument of irreſiſtible perſuaſion. If *France* will not ſupport them againſt *England*, they will ſtrengthen *England* againſt *France*.

But let us indulge a dream of idle ſpeculation, and ſuppoſe that we are to engage with *Spain*, and with *Spain* alone; it is not even yet very certain that much advantage will be gained. *Spain* is not eaſily vulnerable; her kingdom, by the loſs or ceſſion of many fragments of dominion, is become ſolid and compact. The *Spaniards* have indeed no fleet able to oppoſe us, but they will not endeavour actual oppoſition; they will ſhut themſelves up in their own territories, and let us exhauſt our ſeamen in a hopeleſs ſiege. They will give commiſſions to

privateers

privateers of every nation, who will prey upon our merchants without poſſibility of repriſal. If they think their plate fleet in danger, they will forbid it to ſet ſail, and live a while upon the credit of treaſure which all *Europe* knows to be ſafe; and which, if our obſtinacy ſhould continue till they can no longer be without it, will be conveyed to them with ſecrecy and ſecurity by our natural enemies the *French*, or by the *Dutch* our natural allies.

But the whole continent of *Spaniſh America* will lie open to invaſion; we ſhall have nothing to do but march into theſe wealthy regions, and make their preſent maſters confeſs that they were always ours by ancient right. We ſhall throw braſs and iron out of our houſes, and nothing but ſilver will be ſeen among us.

All this is very deſirable, but it is not certain that it can be eaſily attained. Large tracts of *America* were added by the laſt war to the *Britiſh* dominions; but, if the faction credit their own *Apollo*, they were conquered in *Germany*. They at beſt are only the barren parts of the continent, the refuſe of the earlier adventurers, which the *French*, who came laſt, had taken only as better than nothing.

Againſt the *Spaniſh* dominions we have never hitherto been able to do much. A few privateers have grown rich at their expence, but no ſcheme of conqueſt has yet been ſucceſsful. They are defended not by walls mounted with cannons which by cannons may be battered, but by the ſtorms of the deep and the vapours of the land, by the flames of calenture and blaſts of peſtilence.

In

In the reign of *Elizabeth*, the favourite period of *English* greatneſs, no enterpriſes againſt *America* had any other conſequence than that of extending *Engliſh* navigation. Here *Cavendiſh* periſhed after all his hazards; and here *Drake* and *Hawkins*, great as they were in knowledge and in fame, having promiſed honour to themſelves and dominion to the country, ſunk by deſperation and miſery in diſhonourable graves.

During the protectorſhip of *Cromwell*, a time of which the patriotick tribes ſtill more ardently deſire the return, the *Spaniſh* dominions were again attempted; but here, and only here, the fortune of *Cromwell* made a pauſe. His forces were driven from *Hiſpaniola*, his hopes of poſſeſſing the *Weſt Indies* vaniſhed, and *Jamaica* was taken, only that the whole expedition might not grow ridiculous.

The attack of *Carthagena* is yet remembered, where the *Spaniards* from the ramparts ſaw their invaders deſtroyed by the hoſtility of the elements; poiſoned by the air, and crippled by the dews; where every hour ſwept away battalions; and in the three days that paſſed between the deſcent and re-embarkation, half an army periſhed.

In the laſt war the *Havanna* was taken, at what expence is too well remembered. May my country be never curſed with ſuch another conqueſt!

Theſe inſtances of miſcarriage, and theſe arguments of difficulty, may perhaps abate the military ardour of the Publick. Upon the opponents of the government their operation will be different; they wiſh for war, but not for conqueſt; victory would defeat their purpoſes equally with peace, becauſe

proſperity

prosperity would naturally continue trust in those hands which had used it fortunately. The patriots gratified themselves with expectations that some sinistrous accident, or erroneous conduct, might diffuse discontent and inflame malignity. Their hope is malevolence, and their good is evil.

Of their zeal for their country we have already had a specimen. While they were terrifying the nation with doubts whether it was any longer to exist; while they represented invasive armies as hovering in the clouds, and hostile fleets as emerging from the deeps; they obstructed our levies of seamen, and embarrassed our endeavours of defence. Of such men he thinks with unnecessary candour who does not believe them likely to have promoted the miscarriage which they desired, by intimidating our troops or betraying our counsels.

It is considered as an injury to the Publick by those sanguinary statesmen, that though the fleet has been refitted and manned, yet no hostilities have followed; and they who sat wishing for misery and slaughter are disappointed of their pleasure. But as peace is the end of war, it is the end likewise of preparations for war; and he may be justly hunted down as the enemy of mankind, that can chuse to snatch by violence and bloodshed, what gentler means can equally obtain.

The ministry are reproached as not daring to provoke an enemy, lest ill success should discredit and displace them. I hope that they had better reasons; that they paid some regard to equity and humanity; and considered themselves as entrusted with the safety of their fellow-subjects, and as the

destroyers of all that should be superfluously slaughtered. But let us suppose that their own safety had some influence on their conduct, they will not, however, sink to a level with their enemies. Though the motive might be selfish, the act was innocent. They who grow rich by administering physick, are not to be numbered with them that get money by dispensing poison. If they maintain power by harmlessness and peace, they must for ever be at a great distance from ruffians who would gain it by mischief and confusion. The watch of a city may guard it for hire; but are well employed in protecting it from those who lie in wait to fire the streets and rob the houses amidst the conflagration.

An unsuccessful war would undoubtedly have had the effect which the enemies of the ministry so earnestly desire; for who could have sustained the disgrace of folly ending in misfortune? But had wanton invasion undeservedly prospered, had *Falkland's Island* been yielded unconditionally with every right prior and posterior; though the rabble might have shouted, and the windows have blazed, yet those who know the value of life, and the uncertainty of publick credit, would have murmured, perhaps unheard, at the increase of our debt and the loss of our people.

This thirst of blood, however the visible promoters of sedition may think it convenient to shrink from the accusation, is loudly avowed by *Junius*, the writer to whom his party owes much of its pride, and some of its popularity. Of *Junius* it cannot be said, as of *Ulysses*, that he scatters ambiguous

guous expressions among the vulgar; for he cries *havock* without reserve, and endeavours to let slip the dogs of foreign or of civil war, ignorant whither they are going, and careless what may be their prey.

*Junius* has sometimes made his satire felt, but let not injudicious admiration mistake the venom of the shaft for the vigour of the bow. He has sometimes sported with lucky malice; but to him that knows his company, it is not hard to be sarcastick in a mask. While he walks like *Jack the Giant-killer* in a coat of darkness, he may do much mischief with little strength. Novelty captivates the superficial and thoughtless; vehemence delights the discontented and turbulent. He that contradicts acknowledged truth will always have an audience; he that vilifies established authority will always find abettors.

*Junius* burst into notice with a blaze of impudence which has rarely glared upon the world before, and drew the rabble after him as a monster makes a show. When he had once provided for his safety by impenetrable secrecy, he had nothing to combat but truth and justice, enemies whom he knows to be feeble in the dark. Being then at liberty to indulge himself in all the immunities of invisibility; out of the reach of danger, he has been bold; out of the reach of shame, he has been confident. As a rhetorician, he has had the art of persuading when he seconded desire; as a reasoner, he has convinced those who had no doubt before; as a moralist, he has taught that virtue may disgrace; and as a patriot, he has gratified the mean by insults on the high. Finding sedition ascendant,

he has been able to advance it; finding the nation combuſtible, he has been able to inflame it. Let us abſtract from his wit the vivacity of inſolence, and withdraw from his efficacy the ſympathetick favour of plebeian malignity; I do not ſay that we ſhall leave him nothing; the cauſe that I defend ſcorns the help of falſehood; but if we leave him only his merit, what will be his praiſe?

It is not by his livelineſs of imagery, his pungency of periods, or his fertility of alluſion, that he detains the cits of *London*, and the boors of *Middleſex*. Of ſtyle and ſentiment they take no cognizance. They admire him for virtues like their own, for contempt of order and violence of outrage, for rage of defamation and audacity of falſehood. The ſupporters of the Bill of Rights feel no niceties of compoſition, nor dexterities of ſophiſtry; their faculties are better proportioned to the bawl of *Bellas*, or barbarity of *Beckford*; but they are told that *Junius* is on their ſide, and they are therefore ſure that *Junius* is infallible. Thoſe who know not whither he would lead them, reſolve to follow him; and thoſe who cannot find his meaning, hope he means rebellion.

*Junius* is an unuſual phænomenon, on which ſome have gazed with wonder and ſome with terrour, but wonder and terrour are tranſitory paſſions. He will ſoon be more cloſely viewed or more attentively examined, and what folly has taken for a comet that from its flaming hair ſhook peſtilence and war, inquiry will find to be only a meteor formed by the vapours of putrefying democracy, and kindled into flame by the efferveſcence of intereſt ſtruggling with con-

viction;

viction; which after having plunged its followers in a bog, will leave us inquiring why we regard it.

Yet though I cannot think the style of *Junius* secure from criticism, though his expressions are often trite, and his periods feeble, I should never have stationed him where he has placed himself, had I not rated him by his morals rather than his faculties. What, says *Pope*, must be the priest, where a monkey is the God? What must be the drudge of a party of which the heads are *Wilkes* and *Crosby*, *Sawbridge* and *Townsend*?

*Junius* knows his own meaning, and can therefore tell it. He is an enemy to the ministry, he sees them growing hourly stronger. He knows that a war at once unjust and unsuccessful would have certainly displaced them, and is therefore, in his zeal for his country, angry that war was not unjustly made, and unsuccessfully conducted. But there are others whose thoughts are less clearly expressed, and whose schemes perhaps are less consequentially digested; who declare that they do not wish for a rupture, yet condemn the ministry for not doing that, by which a rupture would naturally have been made.

If one party resolves to demand what the other resolves to refuse, the dispute can be determined only by arbitration; and between powers who have no common superiour, there is no other arbitrator than the sword.

Whether the ministry might not equitably have demanded more, is not worth a question. The utmost exertion of right is always invidious, and where claims are not easily determinable is always dangerous.

We aſked all that was neceſſary, and perſiſted in our firſt claim without mean receſſion, or wanton aggravation. The *Spaniards* found us reſolute, and complied after a ſhort ſtruggle.

The real crime of the miniſtry is, that they have found the means of avoiding their own ruin; but the charge againſt them is multifarious and confuſed, as will happen, when malice and diſcontent are aſhamed of their complaint. The paſt and the future are complicated in the cenſure. We have heard a tumultuous clamour about honour and rights, injuries and inſults, the *Britiſh* flag, and the Favourite's rudder, *Buccarelli's* conduct and *Grimaldi's* declarations, the *Manilla* ranſom, delays and reparation.

Through the whole argument of the faction runs the general error, that our ſettlement on *Falkland's Iſland* was not only lawful but unqueſtionable; that our right was not only certain but acknowledged; and that the equity of our conduct was ſuch, that the *Spaniards* could not blame or obſtruct it without combating their own conviction, and oppoſing the general opinion of mankind.

If once it be diſcovered that, in the opinion of the *Spaniards*, our ſettlement was uſurped, our claim arbitrary, and our conduct inſolent, all that has happened will appear to follow by a natural concatenation. Doubts will produce diſputes and diſquiſition, diſquiſition requires delay, and delay cauſes inconvenience.

Had the *Spaniſh* government immediately yielded unconditionally all that was required, we might

have

have been satisfied; but what would *Europe* have judged of their submission? that they shrunk before us as a conquered people, who having lately yielded to our arms, were now compelled to sacrifice to our pride. The honour of the Publick is indeed of high importance; but we must remember that we have had to transact with a mighty king and a powerful nation, who have unluckily been taught to think that they have honour to keep or lose as well as ourselves.

When the Admiralty were told in *June* of the warning given to *Hunt*, they were, I suppose, informed that *Hunt* had first provoked it by warning away the *Spaniards*, and naturally considered one act of insolence as balanced by another, without expecting that more would be done on either side. Of representations and remonstrances there would be no end, if they were to be made whenever small commanders are uncivil to each other; nor could peace ever be enjoyed, if upon such transient provocations it be imagined necessary to prepare for war. We might then, it is said, have increased our force with more leisure and less inconvenience; but this is to judge only by the event. We omitted to disturb the Publick, because we did not suppose that an armament would be necessary.

Some months afterwards, as has been told, *Buccarelli*, the governor of *Buenos Ayres*, sent against the settlement of *Port Egmont* a force which ensured the conquest. The *Spanish* commander required the *English* captains to depart, but they thinking that resistance necessary which they knew to be useless, gave the *Spaniards* the right of prescribing terms of capitula-

 tion.

tion. The *Spaniards* impoſed no new condition except that the ſloop ſhould not ſail under twenty days; and of this they ſecured the performance by taking off the rudder.

To an inhabitant of the land there appears nothing in all this unreaſonable or offenſive. If the *Engliſh* intended to keep their ſtipulation, how were they injured by the detention of the rudder? If the rudder be to a ſhip what his tail is in fables to a fox, the part in which honour is placed, and of which the violation is never to be endured, I am ſorry that the *Favourite* ſuffered an indignity, but cannot yet think it a cauſe for which nations ſhould ſlaughter one another.

When *Buccarelli*'s invaſion was known, and the dignity of the crown infringed, we demanded reparation and prepared for war, and we gained equal reſpect by the moderation of our terms, and the ſpirit of our exertion. The *Spaniſh* miniſter immediately denied that *Buccarelli* had received any particular orders to ſeize *Port Egmont*, nor pretended that he was juſtified, otherwiſe than by the general inſtructions by which the *American* governors are required to exclude the ſubjects of other powers.

To have inquired whether our ſettlement at *Port Egmont* was any violation of the *Spaniſh* rights, had been to enter upon a diſcuſſion which the pertinacity of political diſputants might have continued without end. We therefore called for reſtitution, not as a confeſſion of right, but as a reparation of honour, which required that we ſhould be reſtored to our former ſtate upon the iſland, and that the

king

king of *Spain* ſhould diſavow the action of his governor.

In return to this demand, the *Spaniards* expected from us a diſavowal of the menaces with which they had been firſt inſulted by *Hunt*; and if the claim to the iſland be ſuppoſed doubtful, they certainly expected it with equal reaſon. This, however, was refuſed, and our ſuperiority of ſtrength gave validity to our arguments.

But we are told that the diſavowal of the king of *Spain* is temporary and fallacious; that *Buccarelli*'s armament had all the appearance of regular forces and a concerted expedition; and that he is not treated at home as a man guilty of piracy, or as diſobedient to the orders of his maſter.

That the expedition was well planned, and the forces properly ſupplied, affords no proof of communication between the governor and his court. Thoſe who are intruſted with the care of kingdoms in another hemiſphere, muſt always be truſted with power to defend them.

As little can be inferred from his reception at the *Spaniſh* court. He is not puniſhed indeed, for what has he done that deſerves puniſhment? He was ſent into *America* to govern and defend the dominions of *Spain*. He thought the *Engliſh* were encroaching, and drove them away. No *Spaniard* thinks that he has exceeded his duty, nor does the king of *Spain* charge him with exceſs. The boundaries of dominion in that part of the world have not yet been ſettled; and he miſtook, if a miſtake there was, like a zealous ſubject, in his maſter's favour.

But all this inquiry is ſuperfluous. Conſidered as a reparation of honour, the diſavowal of the king of *Spain*, made in the ſight of all *Europe*, is of equal value, whether true or falſe. There is indeed no reaſon to queſtion its veracity; they, however, who do not believe it, muſt allow the weight of that influence by which a great prince is reduced to diſown his own commiſſion.

But the general orders upon which the governor is acknowledged to have acted, are neither diſavowed nor explained. Why the *Spaniards* ſhould diſavow the defence of their own territories, the warmeſt diſputant will find it difficult to tell; and if by an explanation is meant an accurate delineation of the ſouthern empire, and the limitation of their claims beyond the line, it cannot be imputed to any very culpable remiſſneſs, that what has been denied for two centuries to the *European* powers, was not obtained in a haſty wrangle about a petty ſettlement.

The miniſtry were too well acquainted with negociation to fill their heads with ſuch idle expectations. The queſtion of right was inexplicable and endleſs. They left it as it ſtood. To be reſtored to actual poſſeſſion was eaſily practicable. This reſtoration they required and obtained.

But they ſhould, ſay their opponents, have inſiſted upon more; they ſhould have exacted not only reparation of our honour but repayment of our expence. Nor are they all ſatisfied with the recovery of the coſts and damages of the preſent conteſt; they are for taking this opportunity of calling

in old debts, and reviving our right to the ranſom of *Manilla*.

The *Manilla* ranſom has, I think, been moſt mentioned by the inferior bellowers of ſedition. Thoſe who lead the faction know that it cannot be remembered much to their advantage. The followers of Lord *Rockingham* remember that his miniſtry began and ended without obtaining it; the adherents to *Grenville* would be told, that he could never be taught to underſtand our claim. The law of nations made little of his knowledge. Let him not, however, be depreciated in his grave. If he was ſometimes wrong, he was often right.

Of reimburſement the talk has been more confident, though not more reaſonable. The expences of war have been often deſired, have been ſometimes required, but were never paid; or never, but when reſiſtance was hopeleſs, and there remained no choice between ſubmiſſion and deſtruction.

Of our late equipments I know not from whom the charge can be very properly expected. The king of *Spain* diſavows the violence which provoked us to arm, and for the miſchiefs which he did not do, why ſhould he pay? *Buccarelli*, though he had learned all the arts of an *Eaſt-Indian* governor, could hardly have collected at *Buenos Ayres* a ſum ſufficient to ſatisfy our demands. If he be honeſt, he is hardly rich; and if he be diſpoſed to rob, he has the miſfortune of being placed where robbers have been before him.

The king of *Spain* indeed delayed to comply with our propoſals, and our armament was made neceſſary by unſatisfactory anſwers and dilatory debates.

bates. The delay certainly increaſed our expences, and it is not unlikely that the increaſe of our expences put an end to the delay.

But this is the inevitable proceſs of human affairs. Negociation requires time. What is not apparent to intuition muſt be found by inquiry. Claims that have remained doubtful for ages cannot be ſettled in a day. Reciprocal complaints are not eaſily adjuſted but by reciprocal compliance. The *Spaniards* thinking themſelves entitled to the iſland, and injured by Captain *Hunt*, in their turn demanded ſatisfaction, which was refuſed; and where is the wonder if their conceſſions were delayed! They may tell us, that an independent nation is to be influenced not by command, but by perſuaſion; that if we expect our propoſals to be received without deliberation, we aſſume that ſovereignty which they do not grant us; and that if we arm while they are deliberating, we muſt indulge our martial ardour at our own charge.

The *Engliſh* miniſtry aſked all that was reaſonable, and enforced all that they aſked. Our national honour is advanced, and our intereſt, if any intereſt we have, is ſufficiently ſecured. There can be none amongſt us to whom this tranſaction does not ſeem happily concluded, but thoſe who having fixed their hopes on publick calamities, ſat like vultures waiting for a day of carnage. Having worn out all the arts of domeſtick ſedition, having wearied violence, and exhauſted falſehood, they yet flattered themſelves with ſome aſſiſtance from the pride or malice of *Spain*; and when they could no longer make the people complain of grievances which they did not

feel,

feel, they had the comfort yet of knowing that real evils were poſſible, and their reſolution is well known of charging all evil on their governors.

The reconciliation was therefore conſidered as the loſs of their laſt anchor; and received not only with the fretfulneſs of diſappointment but the rage of deſperation. When they found that all were happy in ſpite of their machinations, and the ſoft effulgence of peace ſhone out upon the nation, they felt no motion but that of ſullen envy; they could not, like *Milton*'s prince of hell, abſtract themſelves a moment from their evil; as they have not the wit of *Satan*, they have not his virtue; they tried once again what could be done by ſophiſtry without art, and confidence without credit. They repreſented their ſovereign as diſhonoured, and their country as betrayed, or, in their fiercer paroxyſms of fury, reviled their ſovereign as betraying it.

Their pretences I have here endeavoured to expoſe, by ſhowing that more than has been yielded was not to be expected, that more perhaps was not to be deſired, and that if all had been refuſed, there had ſcarcely been an adequate reaſon for a war.

There was perhaps never much danger of war or of refuſal, but what danger there was, proceeded from the faction. Foreign nations, unacquainted with the inſolence of common councils, and unaccuſtomed to the howl of plebeian patriotiſm, when they heard of rabbles and riots, of petitions and remonſtrances, of diſcontent in *Surrey*, *Derbyſhire*, and *Yorkſhire*, when they ſaw the chain of ſubordination broken, and the legiſlature threatened and defied, naturally imagined that

that ſuch a government had little leiſure for *Falkland's Iſland*; they ſuppoſed that the *Engliſh* when they returned ejected from *Port Egmont*, would find *Wilkes* inveſted with the protectorate; or ſee the Mayor of *London*, what the *French* have formerly ſeen their mayors of the palace, the commander of the army and tutor of the king; that they would be called to tell their tale before the Common Council; and that the world was to expect war or peace from a vote of the ſubſcribers to the Bill of Rights.

But our enemies have now loſt their hopes, and our friends I hope are recovered from their fears. To fancy that our government can be ſubverted by the rabble, whom its lenity has pampered into impudence, is to fear that a city may be drowned by the overflowing of its kennels. The diſtemper which cowardice or malice thought either decay of the vitals, or reſolution of the nerves, appears at laſt to have been nothing more than a political *phthiriaſis*, a diſeaſe too loathſome for a plainer name; but the effect of negligence rather than of weakneſs, and of which the ſhame is greater than the danger.

Among the diſturbers of our quiet are ſome animals of greater bulk, whom their power of roaring perſuaded us to think formidable, but we now perceive that ſound and force do not always go together. The noiſe of a ſavage proves nothing but his hunger.

After all our broils, foreign and domeſtick, we may at laſt hope to remain a while in quiet, amuſed with the view of our own ſucceſs. We have gained political ſtrength by the increaſe of our reputation; we have gained real ſtrength by the reparation of our

navy;

navy; we have ſhewn *Europe* that ten years of war have not yet exhauſted us; and we have enforced our ſettlement on an iſland on which twenty years ago we durſt not venture to look.

Theſe are the gratifications only of honeſt minds; but there is a time in which hope comes to all. From the preſent happineſs of the Publick the patriots themſelves may derive advantage. To be harmleſs though by impotence obtains ſome degree of kindneſs; no man hates a worm as he hates a viper; they were once dreaded enough to be deteſted, as ſerpents that could bite; they have now ſhewn that they can only hiſs, and may therefore quietly ſlink into holes, and change their ſlough unmoleſted and forgotten.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

THE

# PATRIOT.

ADDRESSED TO THE

## ELECTORS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

[ 1774. ]

They bawl for freedom in their ſenſeleſs mood,
Yet ſtill revolt when truth would ſet them free;
Licence they mean, when they cry liberty,
For who loves that muſt firſt be wiſe and good.

MILTON.

TO improve the golden moment of opportunity, and catch the good that is within our reach, is the great art of life. Many wants are ſuffered, which might once have been ſupplied; and much time is loſt in regretting the time which had been loſt before.

At the end of every ſeven years comes the Saturnalian ſeaſon, when the freemen of *Great Britain* may pleaſe themſelves with the choice of their repreſentatives. This happy day has now arrived, ſomewhat ſooner than it could be claimed.

To ſelect and depute thoſe, by whom laws are to be made, and taxes to be granted, is a high dignity and an important truſt: and it is the buſineſs of every

every elector to consider, how this dignity may be well sustained, and this trust faithfully discharged.

It ought to be deeply impressed on the minds of all who have voices in this national deliberation, that no man can deserve a seat in parliament who is not a PATRIOT. No other man will protect our rights, no other man can merit our confidence.

A PATRIOT is he whose publick conduct is regulated by one single motive, the love of his country; who, as an agent in parliament, has for himself neither hope nor fear, neither kindness nor resentment, but refers every thing to the common interest.

That of five hundred men, such as this degenerate age affords, a majority can be found thus virtuously abstracted, who will affirm? Yet there is no good in despondence: vigilance and activity often effect more than was expected. Let us take a Patriot where we can meet him; and that we may not flatter ourselves by false appearances, distinguish those marks which are certain from those which may deceive: for a man may have the external appearance of a Patriot, without the constituent qualities; as false coins have often lustre, though they want weight.

Some claim a place in the list of Patriots by an acrimonious and unremitting opposition to the court.

This mark is by no means infallible. Patriotism is not necessarily included in rebellion. A man may hate his king, yet not love his country. He that has been refused a reasonable or unreasonable request,

request, who thinks his merit under-rated, and sees his influence declining, begins soon to talk of natural equality, the absurdity of *many made for one*, the original compact, the foundation of authority, and the majesty of the people. As his political melancholy increases, he tells, and perhaps dreams, of the advances of the prerogative, and the dangers of arbitrary power; yet his design in all his declamation is not to benefit his country, but to gratify his malice.

These, however, are the most honest of the opponents of government; their patriotism is a species of disease; and they feel some part of what they express. But the greater, far the greater number of those who rave and rail, and inquire and accuse, neither suspect nor fear, nor care for the Publick; but hope to force their way to riches by virulence and invective, and are vehement and clamorous, only that they may be sooner hired to be silent.

A man sometimes starts up a Patriot, only by disseminating discontent and propagating reports of secret influence, of dangerous counsels, of violated rights and encroaching usurpation.

This practice is no certain note of Patriotism. To instigate the populace with rage beyond the provocation, is to suspend publick happiness, if not to destroy it. He is no lover of his country, that unnecessarily disturbs its peace. Few errors, and few faults of government can justify an appeal to the rabble; who ought not to judge of what they cannot understand, and whose opinions are not propagated by reason, but caught by contagion.

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The fallaciousness of this note of patriotism is particularly apparent, when the clamour continues after the evil is past. They who are still filling our ears with Mr. *Wilkes*, and the Freeholders of *Middlesex*, lament a grievance that is now at an end. Mr. *Wilkes* may be chosen, if any will choose him, and the precedent of his exclusion makes not any honest, or any decent man, think himself in danger.

It may be doubted whether the name of a Patriot can be fairly given as the reward of secret satire, or open outrage. To fill the news-papers with sly hints of corruption and intrigue, to circulate the *Middlesex Journal* and *London Pacquet*, may indeed be zeal; but it may likewise be interest and malice. To offer a petition, not expected to be granted; to insult a king with a rude remonstrance, only because there is no punishment for legal insolence, is not courage, for there is no danger; nor patriotism, for it tends to the subversion of order, and lets wickedness loose upon the land, by destroying the reverence due to sovereign authority.

It is the quality of Patriotism to be jealous and watchful, to observe all secret machinations, and to see publick dangers at a distance. The true *Lover of his country* is ready to communicate his fears and to sound the alarm, whenever he perceives the approach of mischief. But he sounds no alarm, when there is no enemy: he never terrifies his countrymen till he is terrified himself. The patriotism therefore may be justly doubted of him, who professes to be disturbed by incredibilities; who tells, that the last peace was obtained by bribing the Princess of *Wales*;

that the King is graſping at arbitrary power; and that becauſe the *French* in the new conqueſts enjoy their own laws, there is a deſign at court of aboliſhing in *England* the trial by juries.

Still leſs does the true Patriot circulate opinions which he knows to be falſe. No man, who loves his country, fills the nation with clamorous complaints, that the proteſtant religion is in danger, becauſe *popery is eſtabliſhed in the extenſive province of Quebec*, a falſehood ſo open and ſhameleſs, that it can need no confutation among thoſe who know that of which it is almoſt impoſſible for the moſt unenlightened zealot to be ignorant.

That *Quebec* is on the other ſide of the *Atlantick*, at too great a diſtance to do much good or harm to the *European* world:

That the inhabitants, being *French*, were always papiſts, who are certainly more dangerous as enemies, than as ſubjects:

That though the province be wide, the people are few, probably not ſo many as may be found in one of the larger *Engliſh* counties:

That perſecution is not more virtuous in a proteſtant than a papiſt; and that while we blame *Lewis* the Fourteenth, for his dragoons and his gallies, we ought, when power comes into our hands, to uſe it with greater equity:

That when *Canada* with its inhabitants was yielded, the free enjoyment of their religion was ſtipulated; a condition, of which King *William*, who was no propagator of popery, gave an example nearer home, at the ſurrender of *Limerick*:

That in an age, where every mouth is open for *liberty of conſcience*, it is equitable to ſhew ſome regard to the conſcience of a papiſt, who may be ſuppoſed, like other men, to think himſelf ſafeſt in his own religion; and that thoſe at leaſt, who enjoy a toleration, ought not to deny it to our new ſubjects.

If liberty of conſcience be a natural right, we have no power to withhold it; if it be an indulgence, it may be allowed to papiſts, while it is not denied to other ſects.

A Patriot is neceſſarily and invariably a lover of the people. But even this mark may ſometimes deceive us.

The people is a very heterogeneous and confuſed maſs of the wealthy and the poor, the wiſe and the fooliſh, the good and the bad. Before we confer on a man, who careſſes the people, the title of Patriot, we muſt examine to what part of the people he directs his notice. It is proverbially ſaid, that he who diſſembles his own character, may be known by that of his companions. If the candidate of Patriotiſm endeavours to infuſe right opinions into the higher ranks, and by their influence to regulate the lower; if he conſorts chiefly with the wiſe, the temperate, the regular, and the virtuous, his love of the people may be rational and honeſt. But if his firſt or principal application be to the indigent, who are always inflammable; to the weak, who are naturally ſuſpicious; to the ignorant, who are eaſily miſled; and to the profligate, who have no hope but from miſchief and confuſion; let his love of the people be

no longer boasted. No man can reasonably be thought a lover of his country, for roasting an ox, or burning a boot, or attending the meeting at *Mile-End*, or registering his name in the Lumber Troop. He may, among the drunkards, be a *hearty fellow*, and among sober handicraftsmen, a *free-spoken gentleman*; but he must have some better distinction before he is a *Patriot*.

A Patriot is always ready to countenance the just claims, and animate the reasonable hopes of the people; he reminds them frequently of their rights, and stimulates them to resent encroachments, and to multiply securities.

But all this may be done in appearance, without real patriotism. He that raises false hopes to serve a present purpose, only makes a way for disappointment and discontent. He who promises to endeavour, what he knows his endeavours unable to effect, means only to delude his followers by an empty clamour of ineffectual zeal.

A true Patriot is no lavish promiser: he undertakes not to shorten parliaments; to repeal laws; or to change the mode of representation, transmitted by our ancestors: he knows that futurity is not in his power, and that all times are not alike favourable to change.

Much less does he make a vague and indefinite promise of obeying the mandates of his constituents. He knows the prejudices of faction, and the inconstancy of the multitude. He would first inquire, how the opinion of his constituents shall be taken. Popular instructions are commonly the work, not of the

the wiſe and ſteady, but the violent and raſh; meetings held for directing repreſentatives are ſeldom attended but by the idle and the diſſolute; and he is not without ſuſpicion, that of his conſtituents, as of other numbers of men, the ſmaller part may often be the wiſer.

He conſiders himſelf as deputed to promote the publick good, and to preſerve his conſtituents, with the reſt of his countrymen, not only from being hurt by others, but from hurting themſelves.

The common marks of Patriotiſm having been examined, and ſhewn to be ſuch as artifice may counterfeit, or folly miſapply, it cannot be improper to conſider, whether there are not ſome characteriſtical modes of ſpeaking or acting, which may prove a man to be NOT A PATRIOT.

In this inquiry, perhaps clearer evidence may be diſcovered, and firmer perſuaſion attained; for it is commonly eaſier to know what is wrong than what is right; to find what we ſhould avoid, than what we ſhould purſue.

As war is one of the heavieſt of national evils, a calamity in which every ſpecies of miſery is involved; as it ſets the general ſafety to hazard, ſuſpends commerce, and deſolates the country; as it expoſes great numbers to hardſhips, dangers, captivity, and death; no man, who deſires the publick proſperity, will inflame general reſentment by aggravating minute injuries, or enforcing diſputable rights of little importance.

It may therefore be ſafely pronounced, that thoſe men are no Patriots, who when the national honour

was vindicated in the ſight of *Europe*, and the *Spaniards* having invaded what they call their own, had ſhrunk to a diſavowal of their attempt and a relaxation of their claim, would ſtill have inſtigated us to a war for a bleak and barren ſpot in the *Magellanick* ocean, of which no uſe could be made, unleſs it were a place of exile for the hypocrites of patriotiſm.

Yet let it not be forgotten, that by the howling violence of patriotick rage the nation was for a time exaſperated to ſuch madneſs, that for a barren rock, under a ſtormy ſky, we might have now been fighting and dying, had not our competitors been wiſer than ourſelves; and thoſe who are now courting the favour of the people by noiſy profeſſions of publick ſpirit, would, while they were counting the profits of their artifice, have enjoyed the patriotick pleaſure of hearing ſometimes, that thouſands had been ſlaughtered in a battle, and ſometimes that a navy had been diſpeopled by poiſoned air and corrupted food.

He that wiſhes to ſee his country robbed of its rights, cannot be a Patriot.

That man therefore is no Patriot, who juſtifies the ridiculous claims of *American* uſurpation; who endeavours to deprive the nation of its natural and lawful authority over its own colonies; thoſe colonies, which were ſettled under *Engliſh* protection; were conſtituted by an *Engliſh* charter; and have been defended by *Engliſh* arms.

To ſuppoſe, that by ſending out a colony, the nation eſtabliſhed an independent power; that when, by indulgence and favour, emigrants are

become rich, they ſhall not contribute to their own defence, but at their own pleaſure; and that they ſhall not be included, like millions of their fellow-ſubjects, in the general ſyſtem of repreſentation; involves ſuch an accumulation of abſurdity, as nothing but the ſhew of patriotiſm could palliate.

He that accepts protection, ſtipulates obedience. We have always protected the *Americans*; we may therefore ſubject them to government.

The leſs is included in the greater. That power which can take away life, may ſeize upon property. The parliament may enact for *America* a law of capital puniſhment; it may therefore eſtabliſh a mode and proportion of taxation.

But there are ſome who lament the ſtate of the poor *Boſtonians*, becauſe they cannot all be ſuppoſed to have committed acts of rebellion, yet all are involved in the penalty impoſed. This, they ſay, is to violate the firſt rule of juſtice, by condemning the innocent to ſuffer with the guilty.

This deſerves ſome notice, as it ſeems dictated by equity and humanity, however it may raiſe contempt, by the ignorance which it betrays of the ſtate of man, and the ſyſtem of things. That the innocent ſhould be confounded with the guilty, is undoubtedly an evil; but it is an evil which no care or caution can prevent. National crimes require national puniſhments, of which many muſt neceſſarily have their part, who have not incurred them by perſonal guilt. If rebels ſhould fortify a town, the cannon of lawful authority will endanger equally the harmleſs burghers and the criminal garriſon.

In ſome caſes, thoſe ſuffer moſt who are leaſt intended to be hurt. If the *French* in the late war had

taken an *English* city, and permitted the natives to keep their dwellings, how could it have been recovered, but by the ſlaughter of our friends? A bomb might as well deſtroy an *Engliſhman* as a *Frenchman*; and by famine we know that the inhabitants would be the firſt that ſhould periſh.

This infliction of promiſcuous evil may therefore be lamented, but cannot be blamed. The power of lawful government muſt be maintained; and the miſeries which rebellion produces, can be charged only on the rebels.

That man likewiſe is *not a Patriot*, who denies his governors their due praiſe, and who conceals from the people the benefits which they receive. Thoſe therefore can lay no claim to this illuſtrious appellation, who impute want of publick ſpirit to the late parliament; an aſſembly of men, whom, notwithſtanding ſome fluctuation of counſel, and ſome weakneſs of agency, the nation muſt always remember with gratitude, ſince it is indebted to them for a very ample conceſſion in the reſignation of protections, and a wiſe and honeſt attempt to improve the conſtitution, in the new judicature inſtituted for the trial of elections.

The right of protection, which might be neceſſary when it was firſt claimed, and was very conſiſtent with that liberality of immunities in which the feudal conſtitution delighted, was by its nature liable to abuſe, and had in reality been ſometimes miſapplied, to the evaſion of the law and the defeat of juſtice. The evil was perhaps not adequate to the clamour; nor is it very certain, that the poſſible good of this privilege was not more than equal to the poſſible evil. It is however plain, that whether they

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gave any thing or not to the Publick, they at leaſt loſt ſomething from themſelves. They diveſted their dignity of a very ſplendid diſtinction, and ſhewed that they were more willing than their predeceſſors to ſtand on a level with their fellow-ſubjects.

The new mode of trying elections, if it be found effectual, will diffuſe its conſequences further than ſeems yet to be foreſeen. It is, I believe, generally conſidered as advantageous only to thoſe who claim ſeats in parliament; but, if to chuſe repreſentatives be one of the moſt valuable rights of *Engliſhmen*, every voter muſt conſider that law as adding to his happineſs, which makes his ſuffrage efficacious; ſince it was vain to chuſe, while the election could be controlled by any other power.

With what imperious contempt of ancient rights, and what audaciouſneſs of arbitrary authority former parliaments have judged the diſputes about elections, it is not neceſſary to relate. The claim of a candidate, and the right of electors, are ſaid ſcarcely to have been, even in appearance, referred to conſcience; but to have been decided by party, by paſſion, by prejudice, or by frolick. To have friends in the borough was of little uſe to him, who wanted friends in the houſe; a pretence was eaſily found to evade a majority, and the ſeat was at laſt his, that was choſen not by his electors, but his fellow-ſenators.

Thus the nation was inſulted with a mock election, and the parliament was filled with ſpurious repreſentatives; one of the moſt important claims, that of right to ſit in the ſupreme council of the kingdom, was debated in jeſt, and no man could be confident of ſucceſs from the juſtice of his cauſe.

A diſ-

A disputed election is now tried with the same scrupulousness and solemnity, as any other title. The candidate that has deserved well of his neighbours, may now be certain of enjoying the effect of their approbation; and the elector, who has voted honestly for known merit, may be certain that he has not voted in vain.

Such was the parliament, which some of those, who are now aspiring to sit in another, have taught the rabble to consider as an unlawful convention of men, worthless, venal, and prostitute, slaves of the court, and tyrants of the people.

That the next House of Commons may act upon the principles of the last, with more constancy and higher spirit, must be the wish of all who wish well to the Publick; and it is surely not too much to expect, that the nation will recover from its delusion, and unite in a general abhorrence of those who, by deceiving the credulous with fictitious mischiefs, overbearing the weak by audacity of falsehood, by appealing to the judgment of ignorance, and flattering the vanity of meanness, by slandering honesty and insulting dignity, have gathered round them whatever the kingdom can supply of base, and gross, and profligate; and *raised by merit to this bad eminence*, arrogate to themselves the name of PATRIOTS.

TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

# Taxation no Tyranny;

AN

## ANSWER

TO THE

## RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS

OF THE

## AMERICAN CONGRESS.

[1775.]

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IN all the parts of human knowledge, whether terminating in science merely speculative, or operating upon life private or civil, are admitted some fundamental principles, or common axioms, which being generally received are little doubted, and being little doubted have been rarely proved.

Of these gratuitous and acknowledged truths it is often the fate to become less evident by endeavours to explain them, however necessary such endeavours may be made by the misapprehensions of absurdity, or the sophistries of interest. It is difficult to prove the principles of science, because notions cannot always be found more intelligible than

than thoſe which are queſtioned. It is difficult to prove the principles of practice, becauſe they have for the moſt part not been diſcovered by inveſtigation, but obtruded by experience; and the demonſtrator will find, after an operoſe deduction, that he has been trying to make that ſeen which can be only felt.

Of this kind is the poſition, that *the ſupreme power of every community has the right of requiring from all its ſubjects, ſuch contributions as are neceſſary to the publick ſafety or publick proſperity*, which was conſidered by all mankind as compriſing the primary and eſſential condition of all political ſociety, till it became diſputed by thoſe zealots of anarchy, who have denied to the parliament of *Britain* the right of taxing the *American* Colonies.

In favour of this exemption of the *Americans* from the authority of their lawful ſovereign, and the dominion of their mother-country, very loud clamours have been raiſed, and many wild aſſertions advanced, which by ſuch as borrow their opinions from the reigning faſhion have been admitted as arguments; and what is ſtrange, though their tendency is to leſſen *Engliſh* honour, and *Engliſh* power, have been heard by *Engliſhmen* with a wiſh to find them true. Paſſion has in its firſt violence controlled intereſt, as the eddy for a while runs againſt the ſtream.

To be prejudiced is always to be weak; yet there are prejudices ſo near to laudable, that they have been often praiſed, and are always pardoned. To love their country has been conſidered as virtue in men, whoſe love could not be otherwiſe than blind, becauſe

their

their preference was made without a comparifon; but it has never been my fortune to find, either in ancient or modern writers, any honourable mention of thofe, who have with equal blindnefs hated their country.

Thefe antipatriotick prejudices are the abortions of folly impregnated by faction, which being produced againft the ftanding order of nature, have not ftrength fufficient for long life. They are born only to fcream and perifh, and leave thofe to contempt or deteftation, whofe kindnefs was employed to nurfe them into mifchief.

To perplex the opinion of the Publick many artifices have been ufed, which, as ufually happens when falfehood is to be maintained by fraud, lofe their force by counteracting one another.

The nation is fometimes to be mollified by a tender tale of men, who fled from tyranny to rocks and deferts, and is perfuaded to lofe all claims of juftice, and all fenfe of dignity, in compaffion for a harmlefs people, who having worked hard for bread in a wild country, and obtained by the flow progreffion of manual induftry the accommodations of life, are now invaded by unprecedented oppreffion, and plundered of their properties by the harpies of taxation.

We are told how their induftry is obftructed by unnatural reftraints, and their trade confined by rigorous prohibitions; how they are forbidden to enjoy the products of their own foil, to manufacture the materials which nature fpreads before them, or to carry their own goods to the neareft market: and furely the generofity of *Englifh* virtue will never heap new weight

upon

upon thoſe that are already overladen; will never delight in that dominion, which cannot be exerciſed but by cruelty and outrage.

But while we are melting in ſilent ſorrow, and in the tranſports of delirious pity dropping both the ſword and balance from our hands, another friend of the *Americans* thinks it better to awaken another paſſion, and tries to alarm our intereſt, or excite our veneration, by accounts of their greatneſs and their opulence, of the fertility of their land, and the ſplendour of their towns. We then begin to conſider the queſtion with more evenneſs of mind, are ready to conclude that thoſe reſtrictions are not very oppreſſive which have been ſound conſiſtent with this ſpeedy growth of proſperity; and begin to think it reaſonable that they, who thus flouriſh under the protection of our government, ſhould contribute ſomething towards its expence.

But we are ſoon told that the *Americans*, however wealthy, cannot be taxed; that they are the deſcendants of men who left all for liberty, and that they have conſtantly preſerved the principles and ſtubbornneſs of their progenitors; that they are too obſtinate for perſuaſion, and too powerful for conſtraint; that they will laugh at argument, and defeat violence; that the continent of *North America* contains three millions, not of men merely, but of Whigs, of Whigs fierce for liberty, and diſdainful of dominion; that they multiply with the fecundity of their own rattleſnakes, ſo that every quarter of a century doubles their numbers.

Men accuſtomed to think themſelves maſters do not love to be threatened. This talk is, I hope, com-

commonly thrown away, or raiſes paſſions different from thoſe which it was intended to excite. Inſtead of terrifying the *Engliſh* hearer to tame acquieſcence, it diſpoſes him to haſten the experiment of bending obſtinacy before it is become yet more obdurate, and convinces him that it is neceſſary to attack a nation thus prolifick while we may yet hope to prevail. When he is told through what extent of territory we muſt travel to ſubdue them, he recollects how far, a few years ago, we travelled in their defence. When it is urged that they will ſhoot up like the hydra, he naturally conſiders how the hydra was deſtroyed.

Nothing dejects a trader like the interruption of his profits. A commercial people, however magnanimous, ſhrinks at the thought of declining traffick, and an unfavourable balance. The effect of this terrour has been tried. We have been ſtunned with the importance of our *American* commerce, and heard of merchants with warehouſes that are never to be emptied, and of manufacturers ſtarving for want of work.

That our commerce with *America* is profitable, however leſs than oſtentatious or deceitful eſtimates have made it, and that it is our intereſt to preſerve it, has never been denied; but ſurely it will moſt effectually be preſerved, by being kept always in our own power. Conceſſions may promote it for a moment, but ſuperiority only can enſure its continuance. There will always be a part, and always a very large part of every community that have no care but for themſelves, and whoſe care for themſelves reaches little farther than impatience of immediate

mediate pain, and eagerneſs for the neareſt good. The blind are ſaid to feel with peculiar nicety. They who look but little into futurity, have perhaps the quickeſt ſenſation of the preſent. A merchant's deſire is not of glory, but of gain; not of publick wealth, but of private emolument; he is therefore rarely to be conſulted about war and peace, or any deſigns of wide extent and diſtant conſequence.

Yet this, like other general characters, will ſometimes fail. The traders of *Birmingham* have reſcued themſelves from all imputation of narrow ſelfiſhneſs by a manly recommendation to parliament of the rights and dignity of their native country.

To theſe men I do not intend to aſcribe an abſurd and enthuſiaſtick contempt of intereſt, but to give them the rational and juſt praiſe of diſtinguiſhing real from ſeeming good, of being able to ſee through the cloud of interpoſing difficulties, to the laſting and ſolid happineſs of victory and ſettlement.

Leſt all theſe topicks of perſuaſion ſhould fail, the great actor of patriotiſm has tried another, in which terrour and pity are happily combined, not without a proper ſuperaddition of that admiration which latter ages have brought into the drama. The heroes of *Boſton*, he tells us, if the ſtamp act had not been repealed, would have left their town, their port, and their trade, have reſigned the ſplendour of opulence, and quitted the delights of neighbourhood, to diſperſe themſelves over the country, where they would till the ground, and fiſh

fiſh in the rivers, and range the mountains, AND BE FREE.

Theſe ſurely are brave words. If the mere ſound of freedom can operate thus powerfully, let no man hereafter doubt the ſtory of the Pied Piper. *The removal of the people of* Boſton *into the country*, ſeems even to the Congreſs not only *difficult in its execution*, but *important in its conſequences*. The difficulty of execution is beſt known to the *Boſtonians* themſelves; the conſequence, alas! will only be, that they will leave good houſes to wiſer men.

Yet before they quit the comforts of a warm home for the founding ſomething which they think better, he cannot be thought their enemy who adviſes them to conſider well whether they ſhall find it. By turning fiſhermen or hunters, woodmen or ſhepherds, they may become wild, but it is not ſo eaſy to conceive them free; for who can be more a ſlave than he that is driven by force from the comforts of life, is compelled to leave his houſe to a caſual comer, and whatever he does, or wherever he wanders, finds every moment ſome new teſtimony of his own ſubjection? If choice of evil be freedom, the felon in the gallies has his option of labour or of ſtripes. The *Boſtonian* may quit his houſe to ſtarve in the fields; his dog may refuſe to ſet, and ſmart under the laſh, and they may then congratulate each other upon the ſmiles of liberty, *profuſe of bliſs, and pregnant with delight*.

To treat ſuch deſigns as ſerious, would be to think too contemptuouſly of *Boſtonian* underſtandings. The artifice indeed is not new: the bluſterer who threatened in vain to deſtroy his opponent, has ſometimes

 obtained

obtained his end, by making it believed that he would hang himſelf.

But terrours and pity are not the only means by which the taxation of the *Americans* is oppoſed. There are thoſe who profeſs to uſe them only as auxiliaries to reaſon and juſtice, who tell us, that to tax the Colonies is uſurpation and oppreſſion, an invaſion of natural and legal rights, and a violation of thoſe principles which ſupport the conſtitution of *Engliſh* government.

This queſtion is of great importance. That the *Americans* are able to bear taxation is indubitable; that their refuſal may be over-ruled is highly probable; but power is no ſufficient evidence of truth. Let us examine our own claim, and the objections of the recuſants, with caution proportioned to the event of the deciſion, which muſt convict one part of robbery, or the other of rebellion.

A tax is a payment exacted by authority from part of the community for the benefit of the whole. From whom, and in what proportion ſuch payment ſhall be required, and to what uſes it ſhall be applied, thoſe only are to judge to whom government is intruſted. In the *Britiſh* dominion taxes are apportioned, levied, and appropriated by the ſtates aſſembled in parliament.

Of every empire all the ſubordinate communities are liable to taxation, becauſe they all ſhare the benefits of government, and therefore ought all to furniſh their proportion of the expence.

This the *Americans* have never openly denied. That it is their duty to pay the coſts of their own ſafety they ſeem to admit; nor do they refuſe their contri-

contribution to the exigencies, whatever they may be, of the *Britiſh* empire; but they make this participation of the publick burthen a duty of very uncertain extent, and imperfect obligation, a duty temporary, occaſional, and elective, of which they reſerve to themſelves the right of ſettling the degree, the time, and the duration, of judging when it may be required, and when it has been performed.

They allow to the ſupreme power nothing more than the liberty of notifying to them its demands or its neceſſities. Of this notification they profeſs to think for themſelves, how far it ſhall influence their counſels, and of the neceſſities alledged, how far they ſhall endeavour to relieve them. They aſſume the excluſive power of ſettling not only the mode, but the quantity of this payment. They are ready to co-operate with all the other dominions of the king; but they will co-operate by no means which they do not like, and at no greater charge than they are willing to bear.

This claim, wild as it may ſeem, this claim, which ſuppoſes dominion without authority, and ſubjects without ſubordination, has found among the libertines of policy many clamorous and hardy vindicators. The laws of nature, the rights of humanity, the faith of charters, the danger of liberty, the encroachments of uſurpation, have been thundered in our ears, ſometimes by intereſted faction, and ſometimes by honeſt ſtupidity.

It is ſaid by *Fontenelle*, that if twenty philoſophers ſhall reſolutely deny that the preſence of the ſun makes the day, he will not deſpair but whole nations may adopt the opinion. So many political dogma-

tifts have denied to the Mother-country the power of taxing the Colonies, and have enforced their denial with fo much violence of outcry, that their fect is already very numerous, and the publick voice fufpends its decifion.

In moral and political queftions the conteft between intereft and juftice has been often tedious and often fierce, but perhaps it never happened before, that juftice found much oppofition with intereft on her fide.

For the fatisfaction of this inquiry, it is neceffary to confider how a Colony is conftituted, what are the terms of migration as dictated by nature, or fettled by compact, and what focial or political rights the man lofes, or acquires, that leaves his country to eftablifh himfelf in a diftant plantation.

Of two modes of migration the hiftory of mankind informs us, and fo far as I can yet difcover, of two only.

In countries where life was yet unadjufted, and policy unformed, it fometimes happened that by the diffentions of heads of families, by the ambition of daring adventurers, by fome accidental preffure of diftrefs, or by the mere difcontent of idlenefs, one part of the community broke off from the reft, and numbers, greater or fmaller, forfook their habitations, put themfelves under the command of fome favourite of fortune, and with or without the confent of their countrymen or governors, went out to fee what better regions they could occupy, and in what place, by conqueft or by treaty, they could gain a habitation.

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Sons of enterprise like these, who committed to their own swords their hopes and their lives, when they left their country, became another nation, with designs, and prospects, and interests, of their own. They looked back no more to their former home; they expected no help from those whom they had left behind; if they conquered, they conquered for themselves; if they were destroyed, they were not by any other power either lamented or revenged.

Of this kind seem to have been all the migrations of the early world, whether historical or fabulous, and of this kind were the eruptions of those nations which from the North invaded the *Roman* empire, and filled *Europe* with new sovereignties.

But when by the gradual admission of wiser laws and gentler manners, society became more compacted and better regulated, it was found that the power of every people consisted in union, produced by one common interest, and operating in joint efforts and consistent counsels.

From this time independence perceptibly wasted away. No part of the nation was permitted to act for itself. All now had the same enemies and the same friends; the government protected individuals, and individuals were required to refer their designs to the prosperity of the government.

By this principle it is, that states are formed and consolidated. Every man is taught to consider his own happiness as combined with the publick prosperity, and to think himself great and powerful, in proportion to the greatness and power of his governors.

Had the Weftern continent been difcovered between the fourth and tenth century, when all the northern world was in motion; and had navigation been at that time fufficiently advanced to make fo long a paffage eafily practicable, there is little reafon for doubting but the intumefcence of nations would have found its vent, like all other expanfive violence, where there was leaft refiftance; and that *Huns* and *Vandals*, inftead of fighting their way to the fouth of *Europe*, would have gone by thoufands and by myriads under their feveral chiefs to take poffeffion of regions fmiling with pleafure and waving with fertility, from which the naked inhabitants were unable to repel them.

Every expedition would in thofe days of laxity have produced a diftinct and independent ftate. The *Scandinavian* heroes might have divided the country among them, and have fpread the feudal fubdivifion of regality from *Hudfon's Bay* to the *Pacifick Ocean*.

But *Columbus* came five or fix hundred years too late for the candidates of fovereignty. When he formed his project of difcovery, the fluctuations of military turbulence had fubfided, and *Europe* began to regain a fettled form, by eftablifhed government and regular fubordination. No man could any longer erect himfelf into a chieftain, and lead out his fellow-fubjects by his own authority to plunder or to war. He that committed any act of hoftility by land or fea, without the commiffion of fome acknowledged fovereign, was confidered by all mankind as a robber or pirate, names which were

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now of little credit, and of which therefore no man was ambitious.

*Columbus* in a remoter time would have found his way to ſome diſcontented Lord, or ſome younger brother of a petty ſovereign, who would have taken fire at his propoſal, and have quickly kindled with equal heat a troop of followers; they would have built ſhips, or have ſeized them, and have wandered with him at all adventures as far as they could keep hope in their company. But the age being now paſt of vagrant excurſion and fortuitous hoſtility, he was under the neceſſity of travelling from court to court, ſcorned and repulſed as a wild projector, an idle promiſer of kingdoms in the clouds: nor has any part of the world yet had reaſon to rejoice that he found at laſt reception and employment.

In the ſame year, in a year hitherto diſaſtrous to mankind, by the *Portugueſe* was diſcovered the paſſage of the *Indies*, and by the *Spaniards* the coaſt of *America*. The nations of *Europe* were fired with boundleſs expectations, and the diſcoverers purſuing their enterpriſe, made conqueſts in both hemiſpheres of wide extent. But the adventurers were contented with plunder; though they took gold and ſilver to themſelves, they ſeized iſlands and kingdoms in the name of their ſovereigns. When a new region was gained, a governor was appointed by that power which had given the commiſſion to the conqueror; nor have I met with any *European* but *Stukeley* of *London*, that formed a deſign of exalting himſelf in the newly found countries to independent dominion.

To ſecure a conqueſt, it was always neceſſary to plant a colony, and territories thus occupied and ſettled were rightly conſidered as mere extenſions or proceſſes of empire; as ramifications which, by the circulation of one publick intereſt, communicated with the original ſource of dominion, and which were kept flouriſhing and ſpreading by the radical vigour of the Mother-country.

The Colonies of *England* differ no otherwiſe from thoſe of other nations, than as the *Engliſh* conſtitution differs from theirs. All government is ultimately and eſſentially abſolute, but ſubordinate ſocieties may have more immunities, or individuals greater liberty, as the operations of government are differently conducted. An *Engliſhman* in the common courſe of life and action feels no reſtraint. An *Engliſh* Colony has very liberal powers of regulating its own manners and adjuſting its own affairs. But an *Engliſh* individual may by the ſupreme authority be deprived of liberty, and a Colony diveſted of its powers, for reaſons of which that authority is the only judge.

In ſovereignty there are no gradations. There may be limited royalty, there may be limited conſulſhip; but there can be no limited government. There muſt in every ſociety be ſome power or other from which there is no appeal, which admits no reſtrictions, which pervades the whole maſs of the community, regulates and adjuſts all ſubordination, enacts laws or repeals them, erects or annuls judicatures, extends or contracts privileges, exempt itſelf from queſtion or control, and bounded only by phyſical neceſſity.

By

By this power, wherever it ſubſiſts, all legiſlation and juriſdiction is animated and maintained. From this all legal rights are emanations, which, whether equitably or not, may be legally recalled. It is not infallible, for it may do wrong; but it is irreſiſtible, for it can be reſiſted only by rebellion, by an act which makes it queſtionable what ſhall be thenceforward the ſupreme power.

An *Engliſh* Colony is a number of perſons, to whom the King grants a charter permitting them to ſettle in ſome diſtant country, and enabling them to conſtitute a corporation, enjoying ſuch powers as the charter grants, to be adminiſtered in ſuch forms as the charter preſcribes. As a corporation they make laws for themſelves, but as a corporation ſubſiſting by a grant from higher authority, to the control of that authority they continue ſubject.

As men are placed at a greater diſtance from the ſupreme council of the kingdom, they muſt be intruſted with ampler liberty of regulating their conduct by their own wiſdom. As they are more ſecluded from eaſy recourſe to national judicature, they muſt be more extenſively commiſſioned to paſs judgment on each other.

For this reaſon our more important and opulent Colonies ſee the appearance and feel the effect of a regular legiſlature, which in ſome places has acted ſo long with unqueſtioned authority, that it has forgotten whence that authority was originally derived.

To their charters the Colonies owe, like other corporations, their political exiſtence. The ſolemnities of legiſlation, the adminiſtration of juſtice, the

ſecurity of property, are all beſtowed upon them by the royal grant. Without their charter there would be no power among them, by which any law could be made, or duties enjoined, any debt recovered, or criminal puniſhed.

A charter is a grant of certain powers or privileges given to a part of the community for the advantage of the whole, and is therefore liable by its nature to change or to revocation. Every act of government aims at publick good. A charter, which experience has ſhewn to be detrimental to the nation, is to be repealed; becauſe general proſperity muſt always be preferred to particular intereſt. If a charter be uſed to evil purpoſes, it is forfeited, as the weapon is taken away which is injuriouſly employed.

The charter therefore by which provincial governments are conſtituted, may be always legally, and where it is either inconvenient in its nature, or miſapplied in its uſe, may be equitably repealed; by ſuch repeal the whole fabrick of ſubordination is immediately deſtroyed, and the conſtitution ſunk at once into a chaos: the ſociety is diſſolved into a tumult of individuals, without authority to command, or obligation to obey; without any puniſhment of wrongs but by perſonal reſentment, or any protection of right but by the hand of the poſſeſſor.

A Colony is to the Mother-country as a member to the body, deriving its action and its ſtrength from the general principle of vitality; receiving from the body, and communicating to it, all the benefits and evils of health and diſeaſe; liable in dangerous maladies

maladies to ſharp applications, of which the body however muſt partake the pain; and expoſed, if incurably tainted, to amputation, by which the body likewiſe will be mutilated.

The Mother-country always conſiders the Colonies thus connected, as parts of itſelf; the proſperity or unhappineſs of either is the proſperity or unhappineſs of both; not perhaps of both in the ſame degree, for the body may ſubſiſt, though leſs commodiouſly, without a limb, but the limb muſt periſh if it be parted from the body.

Our Colonies therefore, however diſtant, have been hitherto treated as conſtituent parts of the *Britiſh* empire. The inhabitants incorporated by *Engliſh* charters, are entitled to all the rights of *Engliſhmen.* They are governed by *Engliſh* laws, entitled to *Engliſh* dignities, regulated by *Engliſh* counſels, and protected by *Engliſh* arms; and it ſeems to follow by conſequence not eaſily avoided, that they are ſubject to *Engliſh* government, and chargeable by *Engliſh* taxation.

To him that conſiders the nature, the original, the progreſs, and the conſtitution of the Colonies, who remembers that the firſt diſcoverers had commiſſions from the crown, that the firſt ſettlers owe to a charter their civil forms and regular magiſtracy, and that all perſonal immunities and legal ſecurities, by which the condition of the ſubject has been from time to time improved, have been extended to the Coloniſts, it will not be doubted but the parliament of *England* has a right to bind them by ſtatutes, and *to bind them in all caſes whatſoever*, and has therefore a natural and conſtitutional power of lay-

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ing upon them any tax or impoſt, whether external or internal, upon the product of land, or the manufactures of induſtry, in the exigencies of war, or in the time of profound peace, for the defence of *America, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue*, or for any other end beneficial to the empire.

There are ſome, and thoſe not inconſiderable for number, nor contemptible for knowledge, who except the power of taxation from the general dominion of parliament, and hold, that whatever degrees of obedience may be exacted, or whatever authority may be exerciſed in other acts of government, there is ſtill reverence to be paid to money, and that legiſlation paſſes its limits when it violates the purſe.

Of this exception, which by a head not fully impregnated with politicks is not eaſily comprehended, it is alledged as an unanſwerable reaſon, that the Colonies ſend no repreſentatives to the Houſe of Commons.

It is, ſay the *American* advocates, the natural diſtinction of a freeman, and the legal privilege of an *Engliſhman*, that he is able to call his poſſeſſions his own, that he can ſit ſecure in the enjoyment of inheritance or acquiſition, that his houſe is fortified by the law, and that nothing can be taken from him but by his own conſent. This conſent is given for every man by his repreſentative in parliament. The *Americans* unrepreſented cannot conſent to *Engliſh* taxations, as a corporation, and they will not conſent as individuals.

Of this argument, it has been obſerved by more than one, that its force extends equally to all other

laws,

laws, for a freeman is not to be expoſed to puniſhment, or be called to any onerous ſervice but by his own conſent. The Congreſs has extracted a poſition from the fanciful *Monteſquieu*, that *in a free ſtate every man being a free agent ought to be concerned in his own government*. Whatever is true of taxation is true of every other law, that he who is bound by it, without his conſent, is not free, for he is not concerned in his own government.

He that denies the *Engliſh* parliament the right of taxation, denies it likewiſe the right of making any other laws civil or criminal, yet this power over the Colonies was never yet diſputed by themſelves. They have always admitted ſtatutes for the puniſhment of offences, and for the redreſs or prevention of inconveniencies, and the reception of any law draws after it, by a chain which cannot be broken, the unwelcome neceſſity of ſubmitting to taxation.

That a free man is governed by himſelf, or by laws to which he has conſented, is a poſition of mighty ſound: but every man that utters it, with whatever confidence, and every man that hears it, with whatever acquieſcence, if conſent be ſuppoſed to imply the power of refuſal, feels it to be falſe. We virtually and implicitly allow the inſtitutions of any government of which we enjoy the benefit, and ſolicit the protection. In wide-extended dominions, though power has been diffuſed with the moſt even hand, yet a very ſmall part of the people are either primarily or ſecondarily conſulted in legiſlation. The buſineſs of the Publick muſt be done by delegation. The choice of delegates is made by a ſelect number, and thoſe who are not electors ſtand idle

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and helpleſs ſpectators of the commonweal, *wholly unconcerned in the government of themſelves.*

Of electors the hap is but little better. They are often far from unanimity in their choice, and where the numbers approach to equality, almoſt half muſt be governed not only without, but againſt their choice.

How any man can have conſented to inſtitutions eſtabliſhed in diſtant ages, it will be difficult to explain. In the moſt favourite reſidence of liberty, the conſent of individuals is merely paſſive, a tacit admiſſion in every community of the terms which that community grants and requires. As all are born the ſubjects of ſome ſtate or other, we may be ſaid to have been all born conſenting to ſome ſyſtem of government. Other conſent than this, the condition of civil life does not allow. It is the unmeaning clamour of the pedants of policy, the delirious dream of republican fanaticiſm.

But hear, ye ſons and daughters of liberty, the ſounds which the winds are wafting from the Weſtern Continent. The *Americans* are telling one another, what, if we may judge from their noiſy triumph, they have but lately diſcovered, and what yet is a very important truth; *That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property, and that they have never ceded to any ſovereign power whatever a right to diſpoſe of either without their conſent.*

While this reſolution ſtands alone, the *Americans* are free from ſingularity of opinion; their wit has not yet betrayed them to hereſy. While they ſpeak as the naked ſons of nature, they claim but what is claimed by other men, and have withheld nothing

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but what all withhold. They are here upon firm ground, behind entrenchments which never can be forced.

Humanity is very uniform. The *Americans* have this resemblance to *Europeans*, that they do not always know when they are well. They soon quit the fortress that could neither have been mined by sophistry, nor battered by declamation. Their next resolution declares, that *their ancestors, who first settled the Colonies, were, at the time of their emigration from the Mother-country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects within the realm of* England.

This likewise is true; but when this is granted, their boast of original rights is at an end; they are no longer in a state of nature. These lords of themselves, these kings of *me*, these demigods of independence, sink down to Colonists, governed by a charter. If their ancestors were subjects, they acknowledged a sovereign: if they had a right to *English* privileges, they were accountable to *English* laws, and what must grieve the lover of liberty to discover, had ceded to the king and parliament, whether the right or not, at least the power of disposing *without their consent, of their lives, liberties, and properties.* It therefore is required of them to prove, that the parliament ever ceded to them a dispensation from that obedience, which they owe as natural-born subjects, or any degree of independence or immunity not enjoyed by other *Englishmen.*

They say, That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; but that *they were, and their descendants now are,*

*are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.*

That they who form a settlement by a lawful charter having committed no crime forfeit no privileges, will be readily confessed: but what they do not forfeit by any judicial sentence, they may lose by natural effects. As man can be but in one place at once, he cannot have the advantages of multiplied residence. He that will enjoy the brightness of sunshine, must quit the coolness of the shade. He who goes voluntarily to *America*, cannot complain of losing what he leaves in *Europe*. He perhaps had a right to vote for a knight or burgess; by crossing the *Atlantick* he has not nullified his right; but he has made its exertion no longer possible*. By his own choice he has left a country where he had a vote and little property, for another where he has great property, but no vote. But as this preference was deliberate and unconstrained, he is still *concerned in the government of himself*; he has reduced himself from a voter to one of the innumerable multitude that have no vote. He has truly *ceded his right*, but he still is governed by his own consent; because he has consented to throw his atom of interest into the general mass of the community. Of the consequences of his own act he has no cause to complain; he has chosen, or intended to chuse, the greater good; he is represented, as himself desired, in the general representation.

* Of this reasoning, I owe part to a conversation with Sir John Hawkins.

But

But the privileges of an *American* ſcorn the limits of place; they are part of himſelf, and cannot be loſt by departure from his country; they float in the air, or glide under the ocean.

DORIS *amara ſuam non intermiſceat undam.*

A planter, wherever he ſettles, is not only a freeman, but a legiſlator, *ubi imperator, ibi* Roma. *As the* Engliſh *Coloniſts are not repreſented in the* Britiſh *parliament, they are entitled to a free and excluſive power of legiſlation in their ſeveral legiſlatures, in all caſes of taxation and internal polity, ſubject only to the negative of the ſovereign, in ſuch manner as has been heretofore uſed and accuſtomed. We cheerfully conſent to the operation of ſuch acts of the* Britiſh *parliament as are* bona fide *reſtrained to the regulation of our external commerce—excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raiſing a revenue on the ſubjects of* America *without their conſent.*

Their reaſon for this claim is, *That the foundation of* Engliſh *liberty, and of all government, is a right in the people to participate in their legiſlative council.*

They inherit, they ſay, *from their anceſtors, the right which their anceſtors poſſeſſed, of enjoying all the privileges of* Engliſhmen. That they inherit the right of their anceſtors is allowed; but they can inherit no more. Their anceſtors left a country where the repreſentatives of the people were elected by men particularly qualified, and where thoſe who wanted qualifications, or who did not uſe them, were bound by the deciſions of men, whom they had not deputed.

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The Colonifts are the defcendants of men, who either had no vote in elections, or who voluntarily refigned them for fomething, in their opinion, of more eftimation; they have therefore exactly what their anceftors left them, not a vote in making laws, or in conftituting legiflators, but the happinefs of being protected by law, and the duty of obeying it.

What their anceftors did not carry with them, neither they nor their defcendants have fince acquired. They have not, by abandoning their part in one legiflature, obtained the power of conftituting another, exclufive and independent, any more than the multitudes, who are now debarred from voting, have a right to erect a feparate parliament for themfelves.

Men are wrong for want of fenfe, but they are wrong by halves for want of fpirit. Since the *Americans* have difcovered that they can make a parliament, whence comes it that they do not think themfelves equally empowered to make a king? If they are fubjects, whofe government is conftituted by a charter, they can form no body of independent legiflature. If their rights are inherent and underived, they may by their own fuffrages encircle with a diadem the brows of Mr. *Cufhing*.

It is farther declared by the Congrefs of *Philadelphia, That his Majefty's Colonies are entitled to all the privileges and immunities granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or fecured to them by their feveral codes of provincial laws.*

The firft claufe of this refolution is eafily underftood, and will be readily admitted. To all the privileges

privileges which a charter can convey, they are by a royal charter evidently entitled. The second clause is of greater difficulty; for how can a provincial law secure privileges or immunities to a province? Provincial laws may grant to certain individuals of the province the enjoyment of gainful, or an immunity from onerous offices; they may operate upon the people to whom they relate; but no province can confer provincial privileges on itself. They may have a right to all which the king has given them; but it is a conceit of the other hemisphere, that men have a right to all which they have given to themselves.

A corporation is considered in law as an individual, and can no more extend its own immunities, than a man can by his own choice assume dignities or titles.

The legislature of a Colony, let not the comparison be too much disdained, is only the vestry of a larger parish, which may lay a cess on the inhabitants, and enforce the payment; but can extend no influence beyond its own district, must modify its particular regulations by the general law, and whatever may be its internal expences, is still liable to taxes laid by superior authority.

The charters given to different provinces are different, and no general right can be extracted from them. The charter of *Pennsylvania*, where this Congress of anarchy has been impudently held, contains a clause admitting in express terms taxation by the parliament. If in the other charters no such reserve is made, it must have been omitted as not necessary, because it is implied in the nature of

ſubordinate government. They who are ſubject to laws, are liable to taxes. If any ſuch immunity had been granted, it is ſtill revocable by the legiſlature, and ought to be revoked, as contrary to the publick good, which is in every charter ultimately intended.

Suppoſe it true, that any ſuch exemption is contained in the charter of *Maryland*, it can be pleaded only by the *Marylanders*. It is of no uſe for any other province; and with regard even to them, muſt have been conſidered as one of the grants in which the king has been deceived, and annulled as miſchievous to the Publick, by ſacrificing to one little ſettlement the general intereſt of the empire; as infringing the ſyſtem of dominion, and violating the compact of government. But Dr. *Tucker* has ſhewn, that even this charter promiſes no exemption from parliamentary taxes.

In the controverſy agitated about the beginning of this century, whether the *Engliſh* laws could bind *Ireland*, *Davenant*, who defended againſt *Molyneux* the claims of *England*, conſidered it as neceſſary to prove nothing more, than that the preſent *Iriſh* muſt be deemed a Colony.

The neceſſary connexion of repreſentatives with taxes, ſeems to have ſunk deep into many of thoſe minds, that admit ſounds without their meaning.

Our nation is repreſented in parliament by an aſſembly as numerous as can well conſiſt with order and diſpatch, choſen by perſons ſo differently qualified in different places, that the mode of choice ſeems to be, for the moſt part, formed by chance, and ſettled by

cuſtom.

cuſtom. Of individuals far the greater part have no vote, and of the voters few have any perſonal knowledge of him to whom they intruſt their liberty and fortune.

Yet this repreſentation has the whole effect expected or deſired; that of ſpreading ſo wide the care of general intereſt, and the participation of publick counſels, that the advantage or corruption of particular men can ſeldom operate with much injury to the Publick.

For this reaſon many populous and opulent towns neither enjoy nor deſire particular repreſentatives; they are included in the general ſcheme of publick adminiſtration, and cannot ſuffer but with the reſt of the empire.

It is urged that the *Americans* have not the ſame ſecurity, and that a *Britiſh* legiſlator may wanton with their property; yet if it be true, that their wealth is our wealth, and that their ruin will be our ruin, the parliament has the ſame intereſt in attending to them, as to any other part of the nation. The reaſon why we place any confidence in our repreſentatives is, that they muſt ſhare in the good or evil which their counſels ſhall produce. Their ſhare is indeed commonly conſequential and remote; but it is not often poſſible that any immediate advantage can be extended to ſuch numbers as may prevail againſt it. We are therefore as ſecure againſt intentional depravations of government as human wiſdom can make us, and upon this ſecurity the *Americans* may venture to repoſe.

It is ſaid by the *Old Member* who has written an *Appeal* againſt the tax, that *as the produce of* American *labour is ſpent in* Britiſh *manufactures, the*

*balance of trade is greatly againſt them; whatever you take directly in taxes, is in effect taken from your own commerce. If the miniſter ſeizes the money with which the* American *ſhould pay his debts and come to market, the merchant cannot expect him as a cuſtomer, nor can the debts already contracted be paid.—Suppoſe we obtain from* America *a million inſtead of one hundred thouſand pounds, it would be ſupplying one perſonal exigence by the future ruin of our commerce.*

Part of this is true; but the *Old Member* ſeems not to perceive, that if his brethren of the legiſlature know this as well as himſelf, the *Americans* are in no danger of oppreſſion, ſince by men commonly provident they muſt be ſo taxed, as that we may not loſe one way what we gain another.

The ſame *Old Member* has diſcovered that the judges formerly thought it illegal to tax *Ireland*, and declares that no caſes can be more alike than thoſe of *Ireland* and *America*: yet the judges whom he quotes have mentioned a difference. *Ireland*, they ſay, *hath a parliament of its own.* When any Colony has an independent parliament acknowledged by the parliament of *Britain*, the caſes will differ leſs. Yet by the 6 *Geo.* I. chap. 5. the acts of the *Britiſh* parliament bind *Ireland*.

It is urged that when *Wales*, *Durham*, and *Cheſter*, were diveſted of their particular privileges or ancient government, and reduced to the ſtate of *Engliſh* counties, they had repreſentatives aſſigned them.

To thoſe from whom ſomething had been taken, ſomething in return might properly be given. To the *Americans* their charters are left as they were, nor

nor have they lost any thing except that of which their sedition has deprived them. If they were to be represented in parliament, something would be granted, though nothing is withdrawn.

The inhabitants of *Chester*, *Durham*, and *Wales*, were invited to exchange their peculiar institutions for the power of voting, which they wanted before. The *Americans* have voluntarily resigned the power of voting, to live in distant and separate governments, and what they have voluntarily quitted, they have no right to claim.

It must always be remembered, that they are represented by the same virtual representation as the greater part of *Englishmen*; and that if by change of place they have less share in the legislature than is proportionate to their opulence, they by their removal gained that opulence, and had originally and have now their choice of a vote at home, or riches at a distance.

We are told, what appears to the *Old Member* and to others a position that must drive us into inextricable absurdity, that we have either no right, or the sole right of taxing the Colonies. The meaning is, that if we can tax them, they cannot tax themselves; and that if they can tax themselves, we cannot tax them. We answer with very little hesitation, that for the general use of the empire we have the sole right of taxing them. If they have contributed any thing in their own assemblies, what they contributed was not paid but given; it was not a tax or tribute, but a present. Yet they have the natural and legal power of levying money on themselves for provincial purposes, of providing for

their own expence, at their own diſcretion. Let not this be thought new or ſtrange; it is the ſtate of every pariſh in the kingdom.

The friends of the *Americans* are of different opinions. Some think that being unrepreſented they ought to tax themſelves, and others that they ought to have repreſentatives in the *Britiſh* parliament.

If they are to tax themſelves, what power is to remain in the ſupreme legiſlature? That they muſt ſettle their own mode of levying their money is ſuppoſed. May the *Britiſh* parliament tell them how much they ſhall contribute? If the ſum may be preſcribed, they will return few thanks for the power of raiſing it; if they are at liberty to grant or to deny, they are no longer ſubjects.

If they are to be repreſented, what number of theſe weſtern orators are to be admitted? This I ſuppoſe the parliament muſt ſettle; yet if men have a natural and unalienable right to be repreſented, who ſhall determine the number of their delegates? Let us however ſuppoſe them to ſend twenty-three, half as many as the kingdom of *Scotland*, what will this repreſentation avail them? To pay taxes will be ſtill a grievance. The love of money will not be leſſened, nor the power of getting it increaſed.

Whither will this neceſſity of repreſentation drive us? Is every petty ſettlement to be out of the reach of government, till it has ſent a ſenator to parliament; or may two of them or a greater number be forced to unite in a ſingle deputation? What at laſt is the difference between him that is taxed by compulſion

pulſion without repreſentation, and him that is repreſented by compulſion in order to be taxed?

For many reigns the Houſe of Commons was in a ſtate of fluctuation: new burgeſſes were added from time to time, without any reaſon now to be diſcovered; but the number has been fixed for more than a century and a half, and the king's power of increaſing it has been queſtioned. It will hardly be thought fit to new-model the conſtitution in favour of the planters, who, as they grow rich, may buy eſtates in *England*, and, without any innovation, effectually repreſent their native colonies.

The friends of the *Americans* indeed aſk for them what they do not aſk for themſelves. This ineſtimable right of repreſentation they have never ſolicited. They mean not to exchange ſolid money for ſuch airy honour. They ſay, and ſay willingly, that they cannot conveniently be repreſented; becauſe their inference is, that they cannot be taxed. They are too remote to ſhare the general government, and therefore claim the privilege of governing themſelves.

Of the principles contained in the reſolutions of the Congreſs, however wild, indefinite, and obſcure, ſuch has been the influence upon *American* underſtanding, that from *New-England* to *South-Carolina* there is formed a general combination of all the provinces againſt their Mother-country. The madneſs of independence has ſpread from Colony to Colony, till order is loſt and government deſpiſed, and all is filled with miſrule, uproar, violence, and confuſion. To be quiet is diſaffection, to be loyal is treaſon.

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The Congreſs of *Philadelphia*, an aſſembly convened by its own authority, has promulgated a declaration, in compliance with which the communication between *Britain* and the greateſt part of *North America* is now ſuſpended. They ceaſed to admit the importation of *Engliſh* goods in *December* 1774, and determine to permit the exportation of their own no longer than to *November* 1775.

This might ſeem enough, but they have done more. They have declared, that they ſhall treat all as enemies who do not concur with them in diſaffection and perverſeneſs, and that they will trade with none that ſhall trade with *Britain*.

They threaten to ſtigmatize in their Gazette thoſe who ſhall conſume the products or merchandiſe of their Mother-country, and are now ſearching ſuſpected houſes for prohibited goods.

Theſe hoſtile declarations they profeſs themſelves ready to maintain by force. They have armed the militia of their provinces, and ſeized the publick ſtores of ammunition. They are therefore no longer ſubjects, ſince they refuſe the laws of their Sovereign, and in defence of that refuſal are making open preparations for war.

Being now in their own opinion free ſtates, they are not only raiſing armies, but forming alliances, not only haſtening to rebel themſelves, but ſeducing their neighbours to rebellion. They have publiſhed an addreſs to the inhabitants of *Quebec*, in which diſcontent and reſiſtance are openly incited, and with very reſpectful mention of *the ſagacity of Frenchmen*, invite them to ſend deputies to the Congreſs of *Philadelphia*, to that ſeat of Virtue and Veracity, whence

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the people of *England* are told, that to eſtabliſh popery, *a religion fraught with ſanguinary and impious tenets*, even in *Quebec*, a country of which the inhabitants are papiſts, is ſo contrary to the conſtitution, that it cannot be lawfully done by the legiſlature itſelf; where it is made one of the articles of their aſſociation, to deprive the conquered *French* of their religious eſtabliſhment; and whence the *French* of *Quebec* are, at the ſame time, flattered into ſedition, by profeſſions of expecting, *from the liberality of ſentiment diſtinguiſhing* their *nation*, that *difference of religion will not prejudice them againſt a hearty amity*, becauſe *the tranſcendent nature of freedom elevates all who unite in the cauſe, above ſuch low-minded infirmities*.

*Quebec*, however, is at a great diſtance. They have aimed a ſtroke from which they may hope for greater and more ſpeedy miſchief. They have tried to infect the people of *England* with the contagion of diſloyalty. Their credit is happily not ſuch as gives them influence proportionate to their malice. When they talk of their pretended immunities *guarantied by the plighted faith of Government, and the moſt ſolemn compacts with Engliſh Sovereigns*, we think ourſelves at liberty to inquire when the faith was plighted and the compact made; and when we can only find that king *James* and king *Charles* the Firſt promiſed the ſettlers in *Maſſachuſett's Bay*, now famous by the appellation of *Boſtonians*, exemption from taxes for ſeven years, we infer with Mr. *Mauduit*, that by this *ſolemn compact*, they were, after expiration of the ſtipulated term, liable to taxation.

When they apply to our compaſſion, by telling us, that

that they are to be carried from their own country to be tried for certain offences, we are not ſo ready to pity them, as to adviſe them not to offend. While they are innocent they are ſafe.

When they tell of laws made expreſsly for their puniſhment, we anſwer, that tumults and ſedition were always puniſhable, and that the new law preſcribes only the mode of execution.

When it is ſaid that the whole town of *Boſton* is diſtreſſed for a miſdemeanour of a few, we wonder at their ſhamefulneſs; for we know that the town of *Boſton*, and all the aſſociated provinces, are now in rebellion to defend or juſtify the criminals.

If frauds in the impoſts of *Boſton* are tried by commiſſion without a jury, they are tried here in the ſame mode; and why ſhould the *Boſtonians* expect from us more tenderneſs for them than for ourſelves?

If they are condemned unheard, it is becauſe there is no need of a trial. The crime is manifeſt and notorious. All trial is the inveſtigation of ſomething doubtful. An *Italian* philoſopher obſerves, that no man deſires to hear what he has already ſeen.

If their aſſemblies have been ſuddenly diſſolved, what was the reaſon? Their deliberations were indecent, and their intentions ſeditious. The power of diſſolution is granted and reſerved for ſuch times of turbulence. Their beſt friends have been lately ſoliciting the King to diſſolve his Parliament, to do what they ſo loudly complain of ſuffering.

That the ſame vengeance involves the innocent and guilty is an evil to be lamented, but human

caution

caution cannot prevent it, nor human power always redreſs it. To bring miſery on thoſe who have not deſerved it, is part of the aggregated guilt of rebellion.

That governors have been ſometimes given them only that a great man might get eaſe from importunity, and that they have had judges not always of the deepeſt learning, or the pureſt integrity, we have no great reaſon to doubt, becauſe ſuch misfortunes happen to ourſelves. Whoever is governed will ſometimes be governed ill, even when he is moſt *concerned in his own government.*

That improper officers or magiſtrates are ſent, is the crime or folly of thoſe that ſent them. When incapacity is diſcovered, it ought to be removed; if corruption is detected, it ought to be puniſhed. No government could ſubſiſt for a day, if ſingle errors could juſtify defection.

One of their complaints is not ſuch as can claim much commiſeration from the ſofteſt boſom. They tell us, that we have changed our conduct, and that a tax is now laid by Parliament on thoſe who were never taxed by Parliament before. To this we think it may be eaſily anſwered, that the longer they have been ſpared, the better they can pay.

It is certainly not much their intereſt to repreſent innovation as criminal or invidious; for they have introduced into the hiſtory of mankind a new mode of diſaffection, and have given, I believe, the firſt example of a proſcription publiſhed by a Colony againſt the Mother-country.

To what is urged of new powers granted to the Courts of Admiralty, or the extenſion of authority conferred

conferred on the judges, it may be anſwered in a few words, that they have themſelves made ſuch regulations neceſſary; that they are eſtabliſhed for the prevention of greater evils; at the ſame time, it muſt be obſerved, that theſe powers have not been extended ſince the rebellion in *America*.

One mode of perſuaſion their ingenuity has ſuggeſted, which it may perhaps be leſs eaſy to reſiſt. That we may not look with indifference on the *American* conteſt, or imagine that the ſtruggle is for a claim, which, however decided, is of ſmall importance and remote conſequence, the *Philadelphian* Congreſs has taken care to inform us, that they are reſiſting the demands of Parliament, as well for our ſakes as their own.

Their keenneſs of perſpicacity has enabled them to purſue conſequences to a greater diſtance; to ſee through clouds impervious to the dimneſs of *European* ſight; and to find, I know not how, that when they are taxed, we ſhall be enſlaved.

That ſlavery is a miſerable ſtate we have been often told, and doubtleſs many a *Briton* will tremble to find it ſo near as in *America*; but how it will be brought hither, the Congreſs muſt inform us. The queſtion might diſtreſs a common underſtanding; but the ſtateſmen of the other hemiſphere can eaſily reſolve it.* Our miniſters, they ſay, are our enemies, and *if they ſhould carry the point of taxation, may with the ſame army enſlave us. It may be ſaid we will not pay them; but remember*, ſay the weſtern ſages, *the taxes from* America, *and we may add the men, and particularly the Roman Catholicks of this vaſt continent, will then be in the power of your enemies.*

*Nor*

*Nor have you any reason to expect, that after making ſlaves of us, many of us will refuſe to aſſiſt in reducing you to the ſame abject ſtate.*

Theſe are dreadful menaces; but ſuſpecting that they have not much the ſound of probability, the Congreſs proceeds: *Do not treat this as chimerical. Know that in leſs than half a century the quit rents reſerved to the crown from the numberleſs grants of this vaſt continent, will pour large ſtreams of wealth into the royal coffers. If to this be added the power of taxing* America *at pleaſure, the crown will poſſeſs more treaſure than may be neceſſary to purchaſe* the remains *of liberty in your iſland.*

All this is very dreadful; but amidſt the terror that ſhakes my frame, I cannot forbear to wiſh that ſome ſluice were opened for theſe ſtreams of treaſure. I ſhould gladly ſee *America* return half of what *England* has expended in her defence; and of the ſtream that will *flow ſo largely in leſs than half a century*, I hope a ſmall rill at leaſt may be found to quench the thirſt of the preſent generation, which ſeems to think itſelf in more danger of wanting money than of loſing liberty.

It is difficult to judge with what intention ſuch airy burſts of malevolence are vented; if ſuch writers hope to deceive, let us rather repel them with ſcorn, than refute them by diſputation.

In this laſt terrifick paragraph are two poſitions, that, if our fears do not overpower our reflection, may enable us to ſupport life a little longer. We are told by theſe croakers of calamity, not only that our preſent miniſters deſign to enſlave us, but that the ſame malignity of purpoſe is to deſcend

through all their ſucceſſors, and that the wealth to be poured into *England* by the *Pactolus* of *America* will, whenever it comes, be employed to purchaſe *the remains of liberty*.

Of thoſe who now conduct the national affairs we may, without much arrogance, preſume to know more than themſelves, and of thoſe who ſhall ſucceed them, whether miniſter or king, not to know leſs.

The other poſition is, that the *Crown*, if this laudable oppoſition ſhould not be ſucceſsful, *will have the power of taxing* America *at pleaſure*. Surely they think rather too meanly of our apprehenſions, when they ſuppoſe us not to know what they well know themſelves, that they are taxed, like all other *Britiſh* ſubjects, by Parliament; and that the Crown has not by the new impoſts, whether right or wrong, obtained any additional power over their poſſeſſions.

It were a curious, but an idle ſpeculation to inquire, what effect theſe dictators of ſedition expect from the diſperſion of their Letter among us. If they believe their own complaints of hardſhip, and really dread the danger which they deſcribe, they will naturally hope to communicate the ſame perceptions to their fellow-ſubjects. But probably in *America*, as in other places, the chiefs are incendiaries, that hope to rob in the tumults of a conflagration, and toſs brands among a rabble paſſively combuſtible. Thoſe who wrote the Addreſs, though they have ſhewn no great extent or profundity of mind, are yet probably wiſer than to believe it: but they have been taught by ſome maſter of miſchief, how to put in motion the engine of political

electricity;

electricity; to attract by the founds of Liberty and Property, to repel by thofe of Popery and Slavery; and to give the great ftroke by the name of *Boston.*

When fubordinate communities oppofe the decrees of the general legiflature with defiance thus audacious, and malignity thus acrimonious, nothing remains but to conquer or to yield; to allow their claim of independence, or to reduce them by force to fubmiffion and allegiance.

It might be hoped that no *Englishman* could be found, whom the menaces of our own Coloniſts, juſt refcued from the *French*, would not move to indignation, like that of the *Scythians*, who, returning from war, found themfelves excluded from their own houfes by their flaves.

That corporations conftituted by favour, and exifting by fufferance, fhould dare to prohibit commerce with their native country, and threaten individuals by infamy, and focieties with at leaft fufpenfion of amity, for daring to be more obedient to government than themfelves, is a degree of infolence, which not only deferves to be punifhed, but of which the punifhment is loudly demanded by the order of life, and the peace of nations.

Yet there have rifen up, in the face of the publick, men who, by whatever corruptions or whatever infatuation, have undertaken to defend the *Americans*, endeavour to fhelter them from refentment, and propofe reconciliation without fubmiffion.

As political difeafes are naturally contagious, let it be fuppofed for a moment that *Cornwall*, feized with the *Philadelphian* frenzy, may refolve to feparate

itſelf from the general ſyſtem of the *Engliſh* conſtitution, and judge of its own rights in its own parliament. A Congreſs might then meet at *Truro*, and addreſs the other counties in a ſtyle not unlike the language of the *American* patriots:

" Friends and Fellow-ſubjects,

" We the delegates of the ſeveral towns and pariſhes of *Cornwall*, aſſembled to deliberate upon our own ſtate and that of our conſtituents, having, after ſerious debate and calm conſideration, ſettled the ſcheme of our future conduct, hold it neceſſary to declare the reſolutions which we think ourſelves entitled to form by the unalienable rights of reaſonable Beings, and into which we have been compelled by grievances and oppreſſions, long endured by us in patient ſilence, not becauſe we did not feel, or could not remove them, but becauſe we were unwilling to give diſturbance to a ſettled government, and hoped that others would in time find like ourſelves their true intereſt and their original powers, and all co-operate to univerſal happineſs.

" But ſince having long indulged the pleaſing expectation, we find general diſcontent not likely to increaſe, or not likely to end in general defection, we reſolve to erect alone the ſtandard of liberty.

" *Know then*, that you are no longer to conſider *Cornwall* as an *Engliſh* county, viſited by *Engliſh* judges, receiving law from an *Engliſh* parliament, or included in any general taxation of the kingdom; but as a ſtate diſtinct and independent, governed by its own inſtitutions, adminiſtered by its own magiſtrates,

giſtrates, and exempt from any tax or tribute but ſuch as we ſhall impoſe upon ourſelves.

"We are the acknowledged deſcendants of the earlieſt inhabitants of *Britain*, of men, who before the time of hiſtory took poſſeſſion of the iſland deſolate and waſte, and therefore open to the firſt occupants. Of this deſcent, our language is a ſufficient proof, which, not quite a century ago, was different from yours.

"Such are the *Corniſhmen*; but who are you? who but the unauthoriſed and lawleſs children of intruders, invaders, and oppreſſors? who but the tranſmitters of wrong, the inheritors of robbery? In claiming independence we claim but little. We might require you to depart from a land which you poſſeſs by uſurpation, and to reſtore all that you have taken from us.

"Independence is the gift of Nature. No man is born the maſter of another. Every *Corniſhman* is a freeman, for we have never reſigned the rights of humanity; and he only can be thought free, who is not governed but by his own conſent.

"You may urge that the preſent ſyſtem of government has deſcended through many ages, and that we have a larger part in the repreſentation of the kingdom, than any other county.

"All this is true, but it is neither cogent nor perſuaſive. We look to the original of things. Our union with the *Engliſh* counties was either compelled by force, or ſettled by compact.

"That which was made by violence, may by violence be broken. If we were treated as a conquered people, our rights might be obſcured, but

could never be extinguiſhed. The ſword can give nothing but power, which a ſharper ſword can take away.

"If our union was by compact, whom could the compact bind but thoſe that concurred in the ſtipulations? We gave our anceſtors no commiſſion to ſettle the terms of future exiſtence. They might be cowards that were frighted, or blockheads that were cheated; but whatever they were, they could contract only for themſelves. What they could eſtabliſh, we can annul.

"Againſt our preſent form of government it ſhall ſtand in the place of all argument, that we do not like it. While we are governed as we do not like, where is our liberty? We do not like taxes, we will therefore not be taxed; we do not like your laws, and will not obey them.

"The taxes laid by our repreſentatives are laid, you tell us, by our own conſent; but we will no longer conſent to be repreſented. Our number of legiſlators was originally a burden, and ought to have been refuſed: it is now conſidered as a diſproportionate advantage; who then will complain we reſign it?

"We ſhall form a Senate of our own, under a Preſident whom the King ſhall nominate, but whoſe authority we will limit, by adjuſting his ſalary to his merit. We will not withhold a proper ſhare of contribution to the neceſſary expence of lawful government, but we will decide for ourſelves what ſhare is proper, what expence is neceſſary, and what government is lawful.

"Till our counſel is proclaimed independent and unaccountable, we will, after the tenth day of *September*,

*tember*, keep our Tin in our own hands: you can be ſupplied from no other place, and muſt therefore comply, or be poiſoned with the copper of your own kitchens.

"If any *Corniſhman* ſhall refuſe his name to this juſt and laudable aſſociation, he ſhall be tumbled from *St. Michael*'s *Mount*, or buried alive in a tin-mine; and if any emiſſary ſhall be found ſeducing *Corniſhmen* to their former ſtate, he ſhall be ſmeared with tar, and rolled in feathers, and chaſed with dogs out of our dominions.

"From the *Corniſh* Congreſs at *Truro*."

Of this memorial what could be ſaid but that it was written in jeſt, or written by a madman? Yet I know not whether the warmeſt admirers of *Pennſylvanian* eloquence can find any argument in the Addreſſes of the Congreſs, that is not with greater ſtrength urged by the *Corniſhman*.

The argument of the irregular troops of controverſy, ſtripped of its colours, and turned out naked to the view, is no more than this. Liberty is the birthright of man, and where obedience is compelled, there is no liberty. The anſwer is equally ſimple. Government is neceſſary to man, and where obedience is not compelled, there is no government.

If the ſubject refuſes to obey, it is the duty of authority to uſe compulſion. Society cannot ſubſiſt but by the power, firſt of making laws, and then of enforcing them.

To one of the threats hiſſed out by the Congreſs, I have put nothing ſimilar into the *Corniſh* proclamation; becauſe it is too wild for folly and too

 fooliſh

foolish for madness. If we do not withhold our King and his Parliament from taxing them, they will cross the *Atlantick* and enslave us.

How they will come they have not told us; perhaps they will take wing, and light upon our coasts. When the cranes thus begin to flutter, it is time for pygmies to keep their eyes about them. The Great Orator observes, that they will be very fit, after they have been taxed, to impose chains upon us. If they are so fit as their friend describes them, and so willing as they describe themselves, let us increase our army, and double our militia.

It has been of late a very general practice to talk of slavery among those who are setting at defiance every power that keeps the world in order. If the learned Author of the *Reflections on Learning* has rightly observed, that no man ever could give law to language, it will be vain to prohibit the use of the word *slavery*: but I could wish it more discreetly uttered; it is driven at one time too hard into our ears by the loud hurricane of *Pennsylvanian* eloquence, and at another glides too cold into our hearts by the soft conveyance of a female patriot bewailing the miseries of her *friends and fellow-citizens*.

Such has been the progress of sedition, that those who a few years ago disputed only our right of laying taxes, now question the validity of every act of legislation. They consider themselves as emancipated from obedience, and as being no longer the subjects of the *British* Crown. They leave us no choice but of yielding or conquering, of resigning our dominion, or maintaining it by force.

From

From force many endeavours have been ufed either to diffuade, or to deter us. Sometimes the merit of the *Americans* is exalted, and fometimes their fufferings are aggravated. We are told of their contributions to the laft war, a war incited by their outcries, and continued for their protection, a war by which none but themfelves were gainers. All that they can boaft is, that they did fomething for themfelves, and did not wholly ftand inactive while the fons of *Britain* were fighting in their caufe.

If we cannot admire, we are called to pity them; to pity thofe that fhew no regard to their Mother-country; have obeyed no law which they could violate; have imparted no good which they could withhold; have entered into affociations of fraud to rob their creditors; and into combinations to diftrefs all who depended on their commerce. We are reproached with the cruelty of fhutting one port, where every port is fhut againft us. We are cenfured as tyrannical for hindering thofe from fifhing, who have condemned our merchants to bankruptcy and our manufacturers to hunger.

Others perfuade us to give them more liberty, to take off reftraints, and relax authority; and tell us what happy confequences will arife from forbearance: how their affections will be conciliated, and into what diffufions of beneficence their gratitude will luxuriate. They will love their friends. They will reverence their protectors. They will throw themfelves into our arms, and lay their property at our feet. They will buy from no other what we

can ſell them; they will ſell to no other what we wiſh to buy.

That any obligations ſhould overpower their attention to profit, we have known them long enough not to expect. It is not to be expected from a more liberal people. With what kindneſs they repay benefits, they are now ſhewing us, who, as ſoon as we have delivered them from *France*, are defying and proſcribing us.

But if we will permit them to tax themſelves, they will give us more than we require. If we proclaim them independent, they will during pleaſure pay us a ſubſidy. The conteſt is not now for money, but for power. The queſtion is not how much we ſhall collect, but by what authority the collection ſhall be made.

Thoſe who find that the *Americans* cannot be ſhewn in any form that may raiſe love or pity, dreſs them in habiliments of terror, and try to make us think them formidable. The *Boſtonians* can call into the field ninety thouſand men. While we conquer all before us, new enemies will riſe up behind, and our work will be always to begin. If we take poſſeſſion of the towns, the Coloniſts will retire into the inland regions, and the gain of victory will be only empty houſes, and a wide extent of waſte and deſolation. If we ſubdue them for the preſent, they will univerſally revolt in the next war, and reſign us without pity to ſubjection and deſtruction.

To all this it may be anſwered, that between loſing *America* and reſigning it, there is no great difference; that it is not very reaſonable to jump into

into the ſea, becauſe the ſhip is leaky. All thoſe evils may befal us, but we need not haſten them.

The Dean of *Glouceſter* has propoſed, and ſeems to propoſe it ſeriouſly, that we ſhould at once releaſe our claims, declare them maſters of themſelves, and whiſtle them down the wind. His opinion is, that our gain from them will be the ſame, and our expence leſs. What they can have moſt cheaply from *Britain*, they will ſtill buy; what they can ſell to us at the higheſt price, they will ſtill ſell.

It is, however, a little hard, that having ſo lately fought and conquered for their ſafety, we ſhould govern them no longer. By letting them looſe before the war, how many millions might have been ſaved. One wild propoſal is beſt anſwered by another. Let us reſtore to the *French* what we have taken from them. We ſhall ſee our Coloniſts at our feet, when they have an enemy ſo near them. Let us give the *Indians* arms, and teach them diſcipline, and encourage them now and then to plunder a Plantation. Security and leiſure are the parents of ſedition.

While theſe different opinions are agitated, it ſeems to be determined by the Legiſlature, that force ſhall be tried. Men of the pen have ſeldom any great ſkill in conquering kingdoms, but they have ſtrong inclination to give advice. I cannot forbear to wiſh, that this commotion may end without bloodſhed, and that the rebels may be ſubdued by terror rather than by violence; and therefore recommend ſuch a force as may take away, not only the power, but the hope of reſiſtance, and by conquering

conquering without a battle, ſave many from the ſword.

If their obſtinacy continues without actual hoſtilities, it may perhaps be mollified by turning out the ſoldiers to free quarters, forbidding any perſonal cruelty or hurt. It has been propoſed, that the ſlaves ſhould be ſet free, an act which ſurely the lovers of liberty cannot but commend. If they are furniſhed with fire-arms for defence, and utenſils for huſbandry, and ſettled in ſome ſimple form of government within the country, they may be more grateful and honeſt than their maſters.

Far be it from any *Engliſhman* to thirſt for the blood of his fellow-ſubjects. Thoſe who moſt deſerve our reſentment are unhappily at leſs diſtance. The *Americans*, when the Stamp Act was firſt propoſed, undoubtedly diſliked it, as every nation diſlikes an impoſt; but they had no thought of reſiſting it, till they were encouraged and incited by *European* intelligence from men whom they thought their friends, but who were friends only to themſelves.

On the original contrivers of miſchief let an inſulted nation pour out its vengeance. With whatever deſign they have inflamed this pernicious conteſt, they are themſelves equally deteſtable: If they wiſh ſucceſs to the Colonies, they are traitors to this country; if they wiſh their defeat, they are traitors at once to *America* and *England*. To them and them only muſt be imputed the interruption of commerce, and the miſeries of war, the ſorrow of thoſe that ſhall be ruined, and the blood of thoſe that ſhall fall.

Since the *Americans* have made it neceſſary to ſubdue them, may they be ſubdued with the leaſt injury poſſible to their perſons and their poſſeſſions! When they are reduced to obedience, may that obedience be ſecured by ſtricter laws and ſtronger obligations!

Nothing can be more noxious to ſociety, than that erroneous clemency, which, when a rebellion is ſuppreſſed, exacts no forfeiture and eſtabliſhes no ſecurities, but leaves the rebels in their former ſtate. Who would not try the experiment which promiſes advantage without expence? If rebels once obtain a victory, their wiſhes are accompliſhed; if they are defeated, they ſuffer little, perhaps leſs than their conquerors; however often they play the game, the chance is always in their favour. In the mean time, they are growing rich by victualling the troops that we have ſent againſt them, and perhaps gain more by the reſidence of the army than they loſe by the obſtruction of their port.

Their charters being now, I ſuppoſe, legally forfeited, may be modelled as ſhall appear moſt commodious to the Mother-country. Thus the privileges, which are found by experience liable to miſuſe, will be taken away, and thoſe who now bellow as patriots, bluſter as ſoldiers, and domineer as legiſlators, will ſink into ſober merchants and ſilent planters, peaceably diligent, and ſecurely rich.

But there is one writer, and perhaps many who do not write, to whom the contraction of theſe pernicious privileges appears very dangerous, and who ſtartle at the thoughts of *England free and America in chains*. Children fly from their own ſhadow, and

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rhetoricians are frighted by their own voices. *Chains* is undoubtedly a dreadful word; but perhaps the maſters of civil wiſdom may diſcover ſome gradations between chains and anarchy. Chains need not be put upon thoſe who will be reſtrained without them. This conteſt may end in the ſofter phraſe of *Engliſh* Superiority and *American* Obedience.

We are told, that the ſubjection of *Americans* may tend to the diminution of our own liberties: an event, which none but very perſpicacious politicians are able to foreſee. If ſlavery be thus fatally contagious, how is it that we hear the loudeſt yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?

But let us interrupt a while this dream of conqueſt, ſettlement, and ſupremacy. Let us remember that being to contend, according to one orator, with three millions of Whigs, and according to another, with ninety thouſand patriots of *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, we may poſſibly be checked in our career of reduction. We may be reduced to peace upon equal terms, or driven from the weſtern continent, and forbidden to violate a ſecond time the happy borders of the land of liberty. The time is now perhaps at hand, which Sir *Thomas Browne* predicted between jeſt and earneſt.

> When *America* ſhall no more ſend out her treaſure,
> But ſpend it at home in *American* pleaſure.

If we are allowed upon our defeat to ſtipulate conditions, I hope the treaty of *Boſton* will permit us to import into the confederated Cantons ſuch

products

products as they do not raiſe, and ſuch manufactures as they do not make, and cannot buy cheaper from other nations, paying like others the appointed cuſtoms; that if an *Engliſh* ſhip ſalutes a fort with four guns, it ſhall be anſwered at leaſt with two; and that if an *Engliſhman* be inclined to hold a plantation, he ſhall only take an oath of allegiance to the reigning powers, and be ſuffered, while he lives inoffenſively, to retain his own opinion of *Engliſh* rights, unmoleſted in his conſcience by an oath of abjuration.

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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

A

# JOURNEY

TO THE

# WESTERN ISLANDS

OF

# SCOTLAND.

A

# JOURNEY, &c.

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I HAD deſired to viſit the *Hebrides*, or Weſtern Iſlands of *Scotland*, ſo long, that I ſcarcely remember how the wiſh was originally excited; and was in the Autumn of the year 1773 induced to undertake the journey, by finding in Mr. *Boſwell* a companion, whoſe acuteneſs would help my enquiry, and whoſe gaiety of converſation and civility of manners are ſufficient to counteract the inconveniencies of travel, in countries leſs hoſpitable than we have paſſed.

On the eighteenth of *Auguſt* we left *Edinburgh*, a city too well known to admit deſcription, and directed our courſe northward, along the eaſtern coaſt of *Scotland*, accompanied the firſt day by another gentleman, who could ſtay with us only long enough to ſhew us how much we loſt at ſeparation.

As we croſſed the *Frith* of *Forth*, our curioſity was attracted by *Inch Keith*, a ſmall iſland, which neither of my companions had ever viſited, though, lying within their view, it had all their lives ſolicited their notice. Here, by climbing with ſome difficulty over ſhattered crags, we made the firſt experiment of unfrequented coaſts. *Inch Keith* is nothing more than a rock covered with a thin layer of earth, not wholly bare of graſs, and very fertile of thiſtles. A ſmall herd of cows grazes

annually upon it in the ſummer. It ſeems never to have afforded to man or beaſt a permanent habitation.

We found only the ruins of a ſmall fort, not ſo injured by time but that it might be eaſily reſtored to its former ſtate. It ſeems never to have been intended as a place of ſtrength, nor was built to endure a ſiege, but merely to afford cover to a few ſoldiers, who perhaps had the charge of a battery, or were ſtationed to give ſignals of approaching danger. There is therefore no proviſion of water within the walls, though the ſpring is ſo near, that it might have been eaſily encloſed. One of the ſtones had this inſcription: "*Maria Reg.* 1564." It has probably been neglected from the time that the whole iſland had the ſame king.

We left this little iſland with our thoughts employed a while on the different appearance that it would have made, if it had been placed at the ſame diſtance from *London*, with the ſame facility of approach; with what emulation of price a few rocky acres would have been purchaſed, and with what expenſive induſtry they would have been cultivated and adorned.

When we landed, we found our chaiſe ready, and paſſed through *Kinghorn*, *Kirkaldy*, and *Cowpar*, places not unlike the ſmall or ſtraggling market-towns in thoſe parts of *England* where commerce and manufactures have not yet produced opulence.

Though we were yet in the moſt populous part of *Scotland*, and at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the capital, we met few paſſengers.

The

The roads are neither rough nor dirty; and it affords a fouthern ftranger a new kind of pleafure to travel fo commodioufly without the interruption of toll-gates. Where the bottom is rocky, as it feems commonly to be in *Scotland*, a fmooth way is made indeed with great labour, but it never wants repairs; and in thofe parts where adventitious materials are neceffary, the ground once confolidated is rarely broken; for the inland commerce is not great, nor are heavy commodities often tranfported otherwife than by water. The carriages in common ufe are fmall carts, drawn each by one little horfe; and a man feems to derive fome degree of dignity and importance from the reputation of poffeffing a two-horfe cart.

## ST. ANDREWS.

At an hour fomewhat late we came to *St. Andrews*, a city once archiepifcopal; where that univerfity ftill fubfifts in which philofophy was formerly taught by *Buchanan*, whofe name has as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern latinity, and perhaps a fairer than the inftability of vernacular languages admits.

We found, that by the interpofition of fome invifible friend, lodgings had been provided for us at the houfe of one of the profeffors, whofe eafy civility quickly made us forget that we were ftrangers; and in the whole time of our ftay we were gratified by every mode of kindnefs, and entertained with all the elegance of lettered hofpitality.

In the morning we rofe to perambulate a city, which only hiftory fhews to have once flourifhed,

and ſurveyed the ruins of ancient magnificence, of which even the ruins cannot long be viſible, unleſs ſome care be taken to preſerve them; and where is the pleaſure of preſerving ſuch mournful memorials? They have been till very lately ſo much neglected, that every man carried away the ſtones who fancied that he wanted them.

The cathedral, of which the foundations may be ſtill traced, and a ſmall part of the wall is ſtanding, appears to have been a ſpacious and majeſtick building, not unſuitable to the primacy of the kingdom. Of the architecture, the poor remains can hardly exhibit, even to an artiſt, a ſufficient ſpecimen. It was demoliſhed, as is well known, in the tumult and violence of *Knox*'s reformation.

Not far from the cathedral, on the margin of the water, ſtands a fragment of the caſtle, in which the archbiſhop anciently reſided. It was never very large, and was built with more attention to ſecurity than pleaſure. Cardinal *Beatoun* is ſaid to have had workmen employed in improving its fortifications, at the time when he was murdered by the ruffians of reformation, in the manner of which *Knox* has given what he himſelf calls a merry narrative.

The change of religion in *Scotland*, eager and vehement as it was, raiſed an epidemical enthuſiaſm, compounded of ſullen ſcrupulouſneſs and warlike ferocity, which, in a people whom idleneſs reſigned to their own thoughts, and who, converſing only with each other, ſuffered no dilution of their zeal from the gradual influx of new opinions, was long tranſmitted in its full ſtrength from the old to the young, but by

trade

trade and intercourse with *England*, is now visibly abating, and giving way too fast to that laxity of practice, and indifference of opinion, in which men, not sufficiently instructed to find the middle point, too easily shelter themselves from rigour and constraint.

The city of *St. Andrews*, when it had lost its archiepiscopal pre-eminence, gradually decayed: one of its streets is now lost; and in those that remain, there is the silence and solitude of inactive indigence and gloomy depopulation.

The university, within a few years, consisted of three colleges, but is now reduced to two; the college of *St. Leonard* being lately dissolved by the sale of its buildings, and the appropriation of its revenues to the professors of the two others. The chapel of the alienated college is yet standing, a fabrick not inelegant of external structure: but I was always, by some civil excuse, hindered from entering it. A decent attempt, as I was since told, has been made to convert it into a kind of green-house, by planting its area with shrubs. This new method of gardening is unsuccessful; the plants do not hitherto prosper. To what use it will next be put, I have no pleasure in conjecturing. It is something, that its present state is at least not ostentatiously displayed. Where there is yet shame, there may in time be virtue.

The dissolution of *St. Leonard's College* was doubtless necessary; but of that necessity there is reason to complain. It is surely not without just reproach, that a nation, of which the commerce is hourly extending, and the wealth increasing, denies any participation of its prosperity to its literary societies; and

while its merchants or its nobles are raiſing palaces, ſuffers its univerſities to moulder into duſt.

Of the two colleges yet ſtanding, one is by the inſtitution of its founder appropriated to divinity. It is ſaid to be capable of containing fifty ſtudents; but more than one muſt occupy a chamber. The library, which is of late erection, is not very ſpacious, but elegant and luminous.

The doctor, by whom it was ſhewn, hoped to irritate or ſubdue my *Engliſh* vanity, by telling me, that we had no ſuch repoſitory of books in *England*.

*St. Andrews* ſeems to be a place eminently adapted to ſtudy and education, being ſituated in a populous, yet a cheap country, and expoſing the minds and manners of young men neither to the levity and diſſoluteneſs of a capital city, nor to the groſs luxury of a town of commerce, places naturally unpropitious to learning; in one the deſire of knowledge eaſily gives way to the love of pleaſure, and in the other, is in danger of yielding to the love of money.

The ſtudents however are repreſented as at this time not exceeding a hundred. Perhaps it may be ſome obſtruction to their increaſe that there is no epiſcopal chapel in the place. I ſaw no reaſon for imputing their paucity to the preſent profeſſors; nor can the expence of an academical education be very reaſonably objected. A ſtudent of the higheſt claſs may keep his annual ſeſſion, or as the *Engliſh* call it, his term, which laſts ſeven months, for about fifteen pounds, and one of lower rank for leſs than ten; in which, board, lodging, and inſtruction are all included.

The

The chief magiſtrate reſident in the univerſity, anſwering to our vice-chancellor, and to the *rector magnificus* on the continent, had commonly the title of Lord Rector; but being addreſſed only as *Mr. Rector* in an inauguratory ſpeech by the preſent chancellor, he has fallen from his former dignity of ſtyle. Lordſhip was very liberally annexed by our anceſtors to any ſtation or character of dignity: they ſaid, the *Lord General*, and *Lord Ambaſſador*; ſo we ſtill ſay, *my Lord*, to the judge upon the circuit, and yet retain in our Liturgy, *the Lords of the Council*.

In walking among the ruins of religious buildings, we came to two vaults over which had formerly ſtood the houſe of the ſub-prior. One of the vaults was inhabited by an old woman, who claimed the right of abode there, as the widow of a man whoſe anceſtors had poſſeſſed the ſame gloomy manſion for no leſs than four generations. The right, however it began, was conſidered as eſtabliſhed by legal preſcription, and the old woman lives undiſturbed. She thinks however that ſhe has a claim to ſomething more than ſufferance; for as her huſband's name was *Bruce*, ſhe is allied to royalty, and told Mr. *Boſwell*, that when there were perſons of quality in the place, ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by ſome notice; that indeed ſhe is now neglected, but ſhe ſpins a thread, has the company of a cat, and is troubleſome to nobody.

Having now ſeen whatever this ancient city offered to our curioſity, we left it with good wiſhes, having reaſon to be highly pleaſed with the attention that was paid us. But whoever ſurveys the world

muſt ſee many things that give him pain. The kindneſs of the profeſſors did not contribute to abate the uneaſy remembrance of an univerſity declining, a college alienated, and a church profaned and haſtening to the ground.

*St. Andrews* indeed has formerly ſuffered more atrocious ravages and more extenſive deſtruction, but recent evils affect with greater force. We were reconciled to the ſight of archiepiſcopal ruins. The diſtance of a calamity from the preſent time ſeems to preclude the mind from contact or ſympathy. Events long paſt are barely known; they are not conſidered. We read with as little emotion the violence of *Knox* and his followers, as the irruptions of *Alaric* and the *Goths*. Had the univerſity been deſtroyed two centuries ago, we ſhould not have regretted it; but to ſee it pining in decay, and ſtruggling for life, fills the mind with mournful images and ineffectual wiſhes.

## ABERBROTHICK.

As we knew ſorrow and wiſhes to be vain, it was now our buſineſs to mind our way. The roads of *Scotland* afford little diverſion to the traveller, who ſeldom ſees himſelf either encountered or overtaken, and who has nothing to contemplate but grounds that have no viſible boundaries, or are ſeparated by walls of looſe ſtone. From the bank of the *Tweed* to *St. Andrews* I had never ſeen a ſingle tree, which I did not believe to have grown up far within the preſent century. Now and then about a gentleman's houſe ſtands a ſmall plantation, which in *Scotch* is called a *policy*, but of theſe there are few, and thoſe

few

few all very young. The variety of ſun and ſhade is here utterly unknown. There is no tree for either ſhelter or timber. The oak and the thorn is equally a ſtranger, and the whole country is extended in uniform nakedneſs, except that in the road between *Kirkaldy* and *Cowpar*, I paſſed for a few yards between two hedges. A tree might be a ſhow in *Scotland* as a horſe in *Venice*. At *St. Andrews* Mr. *Boſwell* found only one, and recommended it to my notice; I told him that it was rough and low, or looked as if I thought ſo. This, ſaid he, is nothing to another a few miles off. I was ſtill leſs delighted to hear that another tree was not to be ſeen nearer. Nay, ſaid a gentleman that ſtood by, I know but of this and that tree in the county.

The Lowlands of *Scotland* had once undoubtedly an equal portion of woods with other countries. Foreſts are every where gradually diminiſhed, as architecture and cultivation prevail by the increaſe of people and the introduction of arts. But I believe few regions have been denuded like this, where many centuries muſt have paſſed in waſte without the leaſt thought of future ſupply. *Davies* obſerves in his account of *Ireland*, that no *Iriſhman* had ever planted an orchard. For that negligence ſome excuſe might be drawn from an unſettled ſtate of life, and the inſtability of property; but in *Scotland* poſſeſſion has long been ſecure, and inheritance regular, yet it may be doubted whether before the Union any man between *Edinburgh* and *England* had ever ſet a tree.

Of this improvidence no other account can be given than that it probably began in times of tumult, and continued becauſe it had begun. Eſtabliſhed cuſtom is not eaſily broken, till ſome great event ſhakes the whole ſyſtem of things, and life ſeems to recommence upon new principles. That before the Union the *Scots* had little trade and little money, is no valid apology; for plantation is the leaſt expenſive of all methods of improvement. To drop a ſeed into the ground can coſt nothing, and the trouble is not great of protecting the young plant, till it is out of danger; though it muſt be allowed to have ſome difficulty in places like theſe, where they have neither wood for paliſades, nor thorns for hedges.

Our way was over the *Firth* of *Tay*, where, though the water was not wide, we paid four ſhillings for ferrying the chaiſe. In *Scotland* the neceſſaries of life are eaſily procured, but ſuperfluities and elegancies are of the ſame price at leaſt as in *England*, and therefore may be conſidered as much dearer.

We ſtopped a while at *Dundee*, where I remember nothing remarkable, and mounting our chaiſe again, came about the cloſe of the day to *Aberbrothick*.

The monaſtery of *Aberbrothick* is of great renown in the hiſtory of *Scotland*. Its ruins afford ample teſtimony of its ancient magnificence: its extent might, I ſuppoſe, eaſily be found by following the walls among the graſs and weeds, and its height is known by ſome parts yet ſtanding. The arch of

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one of the gates is entire, and of another only ſo far dilapidated as to diverſify the appearance. A ſquare apartment of great loftineſs is yet ſtanding; its uſe I could not conjecture, as its elevation was very diſproportionate to its area. Two corner towers particularly attracted our attention. Mr. *Boſwell*, whoſe inquiſitiveneſs is ſeconded by great activity, ſcrambled in at a high window, but found the ſtairs within broken, and could not reach the top. Of the other tower we were told that the inhabitants ſometimes climbed it, but we did not immediately diſcern the entrance, and as the night was gathering upon us, thought proper to deſiſt. Men ſkilled in architecture might do what we did not attempt: they might probably form an exact ground plot of this venerable edifice. They may from ſome parts yet ſtanding conjecture its general form, and perhaps by comparing it with other buildings of the ſame kind and the ſame age, attain an idea very near to truth. I ſhould ſcarcely have regretted my journey, had it afforded nothing more than the ſight of *Aberbrothick*.

## MONTROSE.

Leaving theſe fragments of magnificence, we travelled on to *Montroſe*, which we ſurveyed in the morning, and found it well built, airy, and clean. The town-houſe is a handſome fabrick with a portico. We then went to view the *Engliſh* chapel, and found a ſmall church, clean to a degree unknown in any other part of *Scotland*, with commodious galleries, and what was yet leſs expected, with an organ.

At our inn we did not find a reception ſuch as we thought proportionate to the commercial opulence of the place; but Mr. *Boſwell* deſired me to obſerve that the innkeeper was an *Engliſhman*, and I then defended him as well as I could.

When I had proceeded thus far, I had opportunities of obſerving what I had never heard, that there were many beggars in *Scotland*. In *Edinburgh* the proportion is, I think, not leſs than in *London*, and in the ſmaller places it is far greater than in *Engliſh* towns of the ſame extent. It muſt, however, be allowed, that they are not importunate, nor clamorous. They ſolicit ſilently, or very modeſtly, and therefore, though their behaviour may ſtrike with more force the heart of a ſtranger, they are certainly in danger of miſſing the attention of their countrymen. Novelty has always ſome power; an unaccuſtomed mode of begging excites an unaccuſtomed degree of pity. But the force of novelty is by its own nature ſoon at an end; the efficacy of outcry and perſeverance is permanent and certain.

The road from *Montroſe* exhibited a continuation of the ſame appearances. The country is ſtill naked, the hedges are of ſtone, and the fields ſo generally plowed, that it is hard to imagine where graſs is found for the horſes that till them. The harveſt, which was almoſt ripe, appeared very plentiful.

Early in the afternoon Mr. *Boſwell* obſerved that we were at no great diſtance from the houſe of lord *Monboddo*. The magnetiſm of his converſation eaſily drew us out of our way, and the entertainment which we received would have been a ſufficient recompence for a much greater deviation.

The

The roads beyond *Edinburgh*, as they are leſs frequented, muſt be expected to grow gradually rougher; but they were hitherto by no means incommodious. We travelled on with the gentle pace of a *Scotch* driver, who having no rivals in expedition, neither gives himſelf nor his horſes unneceſſary trouble. We did not affect the impatience we did not feel, but were ſatisfied with the company of each other as well riding in the chaiſe, as ſitting at an inn. The night and the day are equally ſolitary and equally ſafe; for where there are ſo few travellers, why ſhould there be robbers?

## ABERDEEN.

We came ſomewhat late to *Aberdeen*, and found the inn ſo full, that we had ſome difficulty in obtaining admiſſion, till Mr. *Boſwell* made himſelf known: his name overpowered all objection, and we found a very good houſe and civil treatment.

I received the next day a very kind letter from Sir *Alexander Gordon*, whom I had formerly known in *London*, and, after a ceſſation of all intercourſe for near twenty years, met here profeſſor of phyſick in the *King*'s *College*. Such unexpected renewals of acquaintance may be numbered among the moſt pleaſing incidents of life.

The knowledge of one profeſſor ſoon procured me the notice of the reſt, and I did not want any token of regard, being conducted wherever there was any thing which I deſired to ſee, and entertained

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at once with the novelty of the place, and the kindneſs of communication.

To write of the cities of our own iſland with the ſolemnity of geographical deſcription, as if we had been caſt upon a newly diſcovered coaſt, has the appearance of a very frivolous oſtentation; yet as *Scotland* is little known to the greater part of thoſe who may read theſe obſervations, it is not ſuperfluous to relate, that under the name of *Aberdeen* are compriſed two towns, ſtanding about a mile diſtant from each other, but governed, I think, by the ſame magiſtrates.

*Old Aberdeen* is the ancient epiſcopal city, in which are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of the cathedral. It has the appearance of a town in decay, having been ſituated, in times when commerce was yet unſtudied, with very little attention to the commodities of the harbour.

*New Aberdeen* has all the buſtle of proſperous trade, and all the ſhew of increaſing opulence. It is built by the water-ſide. The houſes are large and lofty, and the ſtreets ſpacious and clean. They build almoſt wholly with the granite uſed in the new pavement of the ſtreets of *London*, which is well known not to want hardneſs, yet they ſhape it eaſily. It is beautiful, and muſt be very laſting.

What particular parts of commerce are chiefly exerciſed by the merchants of *Aberdeen*, I have not enquired. The manufacture which forces itſelf upon a ſtranger's eye is that of knit-ſtockings, on which the women of the lower claſs are viſibly employed.

In

In each of these towns there is a college, or in stricter language, an university; for in both there are professors of the same parts of learning, and the colleges hold their sessions and confer degrees separately, with total independence of one on the other.

In *Old Aberdeen* stands the *King*'s *College*, of which the first president was *Hector Boece*, or *Boethius*, who may be justly reverenced as one of the revivers of elegant learning. When he studied at *Paris*, he was acquainted with *Erasmus*, who afterwards gave him a publick testimony of his esteem, by inscribing to him a catalogue of his works. The style of *Boethius*, though, perhaps, not always rigorously pure, is formed with great diligence upon ancient models, and wholly uninfected with monastick barbarity. His history is written with elegance and vigour, but his fabulousness and credulity are justly blamed. His fabulousness, if he was the author of the fictions, is a fault for which no apology can be made; but his credulity may be excused in an age when all men were credulous. Learning was then rising on the world; but ages so long accustomed to darkness, were too much dazzled with its light to see any thing distinctly. The first race of scholars in the fifteenth century, and some time after, were, for the most part, learning to speak, rather than to think, and were therefore more studious of elegance than of truth. The contemporaries of *Boethius* thought it sufficient to know what the ancients had delivered. The examination of tenets and of facts was reserved for another generation.

*Boethius*,

*Boethius*, as prefident of the univerfity, enjoyed a revenue of forty *Scottifh* marks, about two pounds four fhillings and fix-pence of fterling money. In the prefent age of trade and taxes, it is difficult even for the imagination fo to raife the value of money, or fo to diminifh the demands of life, as to fuppofe four and forty fhillings a year an honourable ftipend; yet it was probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank of *Boethius*. The wealth of *England* was undoubtedly to that of *Scotland* more than five to one, and it is known that *Henry the Eighth*, among whofe faults avarice was never reckoned, granted to *Roger Afcham*, as a reward of his learning, a penfion of ten pounds a year.

The other, called the *Marifchal College*, is in the new town. The hall is large and well lighted. One of its ornaments is the picture of *Arthur Johnfton*, who was principal of the college, and who holds among the *Latin* poets of *Scotland* the next place to the elegant *Buchanan*.

In the library I was fhewn fome curiofities; a *Hebrew* manufcript of exquifite penmanfhip, and a *Latin* tranflation of *Ariftotle*'s Politicks by *Leonardus Aretinus*, written in the *Roman* character with nicety and beauty, which, as the art of printing has made them no longer neceffary, are not now to be found. This was one of the lateft performances of the tranfcribers, for *Aretinus* died but about twenty years before typography was invented. This verfion has been printed, and may be found in libraries, but is little read; for the fame books have been fince tranflated both by *Victorius* and *Lambinus*, who

who lived in an age more cultivated, but perhaps owed in part to *Aretinus* that they were able to excel him. Much is due to thoſe who firſt broke the way to knowledge, and left only to their ſucceſſors the taſk of ſmoothing it.

In both theſe colleges the methods of inſtruction are nearly the ſame; the lectures differing only by the accidental difference of diligence, or ability in the profeſſors. The ſtudents wear ſcarlet gowns, and the profeſſors black, which is, I believe, the academical dreſs in all the *Scottiſh* univerſities, except that of *Edinburgh*, where the ſcholars are not diſtinguiſhed by any particular habit. In the *King's College* there is kept a publick table, but the ſcholars of the *Mariſchal College* are boarded in the town. The expence of living is here, according to the information that I could obtain, ſomewhat more than at *St. Andrews*.

The courſe of education is extended to four years, at the end of which thoſe who take a degree, who are not many, become maſters of arts; and whoever is a maſter may, if he pleaſes, immediately commence doctor. The title of doctor, however, was for a conſiderable time beſtowed only on phyſicians. The advocates are examined and approved by their own body; the miniſters were not ambitious of titles, or were afraid of being cenſured for ambition; and the doctorate in every faculty was commonly given or ſold into other countries. The miniſters are now reconciled to diſtinction, and as it muſt always happen that ſome will excel others, have thought graduation a proper teſtimony of uncommon abilities or acquiſitions.

The indiscriminate collation of degrees has justly taken away that respect which they originally claimed as stamps, by which the literary value of men so distinguished was authoritatively denoted. That academical honours, or any others, should be conferred with exact proportion to merit, is more than human judgment or human integrity have given reason to expect. Perhaps degrees in universities cannot be better adjusted by any general rule than by the length of time passed in the publick profession of learning. An *English* or *Irish* doctorate cannot be obtained by a very young man, and it is reasonable to suppose, what is likewise by experience commonly found true, that he who is by age qualified to be a doctor, has in so much time gained learning sufficient not to disgrace the title, or wit sufficient not to desire it.

The *Scotch* universities hold but one term or session in the year. That of *St. Andrew's* continues eight months, that of *Aberdeen* only five, from the first of *November* to the first of *April*.

In *Aberdeen* there is an *English* chapel, in which the congregation was numerous and splendid. The form of publick worship used by the church of *England*, is in *Scotland* legally practised in licensed chapels served by clergymen of *English* or *Irish* ordination, and by tacit connivance quietly permitted in separate congregations, supplied with ministers by the successors of the bishops who were deprived at the Revolution.

We came to *Aberdeen* on *Saturday August* 21. On *Monday* we were invited into the town-hall, where I had the freedom of the city given me by the Lord

Provost.

Provoſt. The honour conferred had all the decorations that politeneſs could add; and what I am afraid I ſhould not have had to ſay of any city ſouth of the *Tweed*, I found no petty officer bowing for a fee.

The parchment containing the record of admiſſion is, with the ſeal appending, faſtened to a riband, and worn for one day by the new citizen in his hat.

By a lady who ſaw us at the chapel, the earl of *Errol* was informed of our arrival, and we had the honour of an invitation to his ſeat, called *Slanes Caſtle*, as I am told, improperly, from the caſtle of that name, which once ſtood at a place not far diſtant.

The road beyond *Aberdeen* grew more ſtony, and continued equally naked of all vegetable decoration. We travelled over a tract of ground near the ſea, which, not long ago, ſuffered a very uncommon and unexpected calamity. The ſand of the ſhore was raiſed by a tempeſt in ſuch quantities, and carried to ſuch a diſtance, that an eſtate was overwhelmed and loſt. Such and ſo hopeleſs was the barrenneſs ſuperinduced, that the owner, when he was required to pay the uſual tax, deſired rather to reſign the ground.

## SLANES CASTLE. THE BULLER OF BUCHAN.

We came in the afternoon to *Slanes Caſtle*, built upon the margin of the ſea, ſo that the walls of one of the towers ſeem only a continuation of a perpendicular rock, the foot of which is beaten by the waves. To walk round the houſe ſeemed impracti-

cable. From the windows the eye wanders over the ſea that ſeparates *Scotland* from *Norway*, and when the winds beat with violence, muſt enjoy all the terrifick grandeur of the tempeſtuous ocean. I would not for my amuſement wiſh for a ſtorm; but as ſtorms, whether wiſhed or not, will ſometimes happen, I may ſay, without violation of humanity, that I ſhould willingly look out upon them from *Slanes Caſtle*.

When we were about to take our leave, our departure was prohibited by the counteſs till we ſhould have ſeen two places upon the coaſt, which ſhe rightly conſidered as worthy of curioſity, *Dun Buy* and the *Buller of Buchan*, to which Mr. *Boyd* very kindly conducted us.

*Dun Buy*, which in *Erſe* is ſaid to ſignify the *Yellow-Rock*, is a double protuberance of ſtone, open to the main ſea on one ſide, and parted from the land by a very narrow channel on the other. It has its name and its colour from the dung of innumerable ſea-fowls, which in the ſpring chuſe this place as convenient for incubation, and have their eggs and their young taken in great abundance. One of the birds that frequent this rock has, as we were told, its body not larger than a duck's, and yet lays eggs as large as thoſe of a gooſe. This bird is by the inhabitants named a *Coot*. That which is called *Coot* in *England*, is here a *Cooter*.

Upon theſe rocks there was nothing that could long detain attention, and we ſoon turned our eyes to the *Buller*, or *Bouilloir of Buchan*, which no man can ſee with indifference, who has either ſenſe of danger, or delight in rarity. It is a rock perpen-

dicularly tubulated, united on one ſide with a high ſhore, and on the other riſing ſteep to a great height, above the main ſea. The top is open, from which may be ſeen a dark gulf of water which flows into the cavity, through a breach made in the lower part of the incloſing rock. It has the appearance of a vaſt well bordered with a wall. The edge of the *Buller* is not wide, and to thoſe that walk round, appears very narrow. He that ventures to look downward ſees, that if his foot ſhould ſlip, he muſt fall from his dreadful elevation upon ſtones on one ſide, or into the water on the other. We however went round, and were glad when the circuit was completed.

When we came down to the ſea, we ſaw ſome boats, and rowers, and reſolved to explore the *Buller*, at the bottom. We entered the arch, which the water had made, and found ourſelves in a place, which, though we could not think ourſelves in danger, we could ſcarcely ſurvey without ſome recoil of the mind. The baſon in which we floated was nearly circular, perhaps thirty yards in diameter. We were incloſed by a natural wall, riſing ſteep on every ſide to a height which produced the idea of inſurmountable confinement. The interception of all lateral light cauſed a diſmal gloom. Round us was a perpendicular rock, above us the diſtant ſky, and below an unknown profundity of water. If I had any malice againſt a walking ſpirit, inſtead of laying him in the *Red-ſea*, I would condemn him to reſide in the *Buller of Buchan*.

But terror without danger is only one of the ſports of fancy, a voluntary agitation of the mind that is

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permitted no longer than it pleaſes. We were ſoon at leiſure to examine the place with minute inſpection, and found many cavities which, as the watermen told us, went backward to a depth which they had never explored. Their extent we had not time to try; they are ſaid to ſerve different purpoſes. Ladies come hither ſometimes in the ſummer with collations, and ſmugglers make them ſtorehouſes for clandeſtine merchandiſe. It is hardly to be doubted but the pirates of ancient times often uſed them as magazines of arms, or repoſitories of plunder.

To the little veſſels uſed by the northern rowers, the *Buller* may have ſerved as a ſhelter from ſtorms, and perhaps as a retreat from enemies; the entrance might have been ſtopped, or guarded with little difficulty, and though the veſſels that were ſtationed within would have been battered with ſtones ſhowered on them from above, yet the crews would have lain ſafe in the caverns.

Next morning we continued our journey, pleaſed with our reception at *Slanes Caſtle*, of which we had now leiſure to recount the grandeur and the elegance; for our way afforded us few topicks of converſation. The ground was neither uncultivated nor unfruitful; but it was ſtill all arable. Of flocks or herds there was no appearance. I had now travelled two hundred miles in *Scotland*, and ſeen only one tree not younger than myſelf.

## BAMFF.

We dined this day at the houſe of Mr. *Frazer* of *Streichton*, who ſhewed us in his grounds ſome

ſtones

ſtones yet ſtanding of a druidical circle, and what I began to think more worthy of notice, ſome foreſt trees of full growth.

At night we came to *Bamff*, where I remember nothing that particularly claimed my attention. The ancient towns of *Scotland* have generally an appearance unuſual to *Engliſhmen*. The houſes, whether great or ſmall, are for the moſt part built of ſtones. Their ends are now and then next the ſtreets, and the entrance into them is very often by a flight of ſteps, which reaches up to the ſecond ſtory; the floor which is level with the ground being entered only by ſtairs deſcending within the houſe.

The art of joining ſquares of glaſs with lead is little uſed in *Scotland*, and in ſome places is totally forgotten. The frames of their windows are all of wood. They are more frugal of their glaſs than the *Engliſh*, and will often, in houſes not otherwiſe mean, compoſe a ſquare of two pieces, not joining like cracked glaſs, but with one edge laid perhaps half an inch over the other. Their windows do not move upon hinges, but are puſhed up and drawn down in grooves, yet they are ſeldom accommodated with weights and pullies. He that would have his window open muſt hold it with his hand, unleſs what may be ſometimes found among good contrivers, there be a nail which he may ſtick into a hole, to keep it from falling.

What cannot be done without ſome uncommon trouble or particular expedient, will not often be done at all. The incommodiouſneſs of the *Scotch* windows keeps them very cloſely ſhut. The ne-

ceſſity of ventilating human habitations has not yet been found by our northern neighbours; and even in houſes well built and elegantly furniſhed, a ſtranger may be ſometimes forgiven, if he allows himſelf to wiſh for freſher air.

Theſe diminutive obſervations ſeem to take away ſomething from the dignity of writing, and therefore are never communicated but with heſitation, and a little fear of abaſement and contempt. But it muſt be remembered, that life conſiſts not of a ſeries of illuſtrious actions, or elegant enjoyments; the greater part of our time paſſes in compliance with neceſſities, in the performance of daily duties, in the removal of ſmall inconveniencies, in the procurement of petty pleaſures; and we are well or ill at eaſe, as the main ſtream of life glides on ſmoothly, or is ruffled by ſmall obſtacles and frequent interruption. The true ſtate of every nation is the ſtate of common life. The manners of a people are not to be found in the ſchools of learning, or the palaces of greatneſs, where the national character is obſcured or obliterated by travel or inſtruction, by philoſophy or vanity; nor is publick happineſs to be eſtimated by the aſſemblies of the gay, or the banquets of the rich. The great maſs of nations is neither rich nor gay: they whoſe aggregate conſtitutes the people, are found in the ſtreets and the villages, in the ſhops and farms; and from them collectively conſidered, muſt the meaſure of general proſperity be taken. As they approach to delicacy, a nation is refined; as their conveniencies are multiplied, a nation, at leaſt a commercial nation, muſt be denominated wealthy.

ELGIN.

## ELGIN.

Finding nothing to detain us at *Bamff*, we ſet out in the morning, and having breakfaſted at *Cullen*, about noon came to *Elgin*, where, in the inn that we ſuppoſed the beſt, a dinner was ſet before us, which we could not eat. This was the firſt time, and except one, the laſt, that I found any reaſon to complain of a *Scottiſh* table; and ſuch diſappointments, I ſuppoſe, muſt be expected in every country, where there is no great frequency of travellers.

The ruins of the cathedral of *Elgin* afforded us another proof of the waſte of reformation. There is enough yet remaining to ſhew, that it was once magnificent. Its whole plot is eaſily traced. On the north ſide of the choir, the chapter-houſe, which is roofed with an arch of ſtone, remains entire; and on the ſouth ſide, another maſs of building, which we could not enter, is preſerved by the care of the family of *Gordon*; but the body of the church is a maſs of fragments.

A paper was here put into our hands, which deduced from ſufficient authorities the hiſtory of this venerable ruin. The church of *Elgin* had, in the inteſtine tumults of the barbarous ages, been laid waſte by the irruption of a highland chief, whom the biſhop had offended; but it was gradually reſtored to the ſtate of which the traces may be now diſcerned, and was at laſt not deſtroyed by the tumultuous violence of *Knox*, but more ſhamefully ſuffered to dilapidate by deliberate robbery and frigid indifference. There is ſtill extant, in the

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books of the council, an order, of which I cannot remember the date, but which was doubtless issued after the reformation, directing that the lead, which covers the two cathedrals of *Elgin* and *Aberdeen*, shall be taken away, and converted into money for the support of the army. A *Scotch* army was in those times very cheaply kept; yet the lead of two churches must have borne so small a proportion to any military expence, that it is hard not to believe the reason alledged to be merely popular, and the money intended for some private purse. The order however was obeyed; the two churches were stripped, and the lead was shipped to be sold in *Holland*. I hope every reader will rejoice that this cargo of sacrilege was lost at sea.

Let us not however make too much haste to despise our neighbours. Our own cathedrals are mouldering by unregarded dilapidation. It seems to be part of the despicable philosophy of the time to despise monuments of sacred magnificence, and we are in danger of doing that deliberately, which the *Scots* did not do but in the unsettled state of an imperfect constitution.

Those who had once uncovered the cathedrals never wished to cover them again; and being thus made useless, they were first neglected, and perhaps, as the stone was wanted, afterwards demolished.

*Elgin* seems a place of little trade, and thinly inhabited. The episcopal cities of *Scotland*, I believe, generally fell with their churches, though some of them have since recovered by a situation convenient for commerce. Thus *Glasgow*, though

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it has no longer an archbiſhop, has riſen beyond its original ſtate by the opulence of its traders; and *Aberdeen*, though its ancient ſtock had decayed, flouriſhes by a new ſhoot in another place.

In the chief ſtreet of *Elgin*, the houſes jut over the loweſt ſtory, like the old buildings of timber in *London*, but with greater prominence; ſo that there is ſometimes a walk for a conſiderable length under a cloiſter, or portico, which is now indeed frequently broken, becauſe the new houſes have another form, but ſeems to have been uniformly continued in the old city.

## FORES. CALDER. FORT GEORGE.

We went forwards the ſame day to *Fores*, the town to which *Macbeth* was travelling, when he met the weird ſiſters in his way. This to an *Engliſhman* is claſſick ground. Our imaginations were heated, and our thoughts recalled to their old amuſements.

We had now a prelude to the Highlands. We began to leave fertility and culture behind us, and ſaw for a great length of road nothing but heath; yet at *Fochabars*, a ſeat belonging to the duke of *Gordon*, there is an orchard, which in *Scotland* I had never ſeen before, with ſome timber trees, and a plantation of oaks.

At *Fores* we found good accommodation, but nothing worthy of particular remark, and next morning entered upon the road on which *Macbeth* heard the fatal prediction; but we travelled on not interrupted by promiſes of kingdoms, and came to *Nairn*, a royal burgh, which, if once it flouriſhed, is now

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in a ſtate of miſerable decay; but I know not whether its chief annual magiſtrate has not ſtill the title of Lord Provoſt.

At *Nairn* we may fix the verge of the Highlands; for here I firſt ſaw peat fires, and firſt heard the *Erſe* language. We had no motive to ſtay longer than to breakfaſt, and went forward to the houſe of Mr. *Macaulay*, the miniſter who publiſhed an account of *St. Kilda*, and by his direction viſited *Calder Caſtle*, from which *Macbeth* drew his ſecond title. It has been formerly a place of ſtrength. The draw-bridge is ſtill to be ſeen, but the moat is now dry. The tower is very ancient. Its walls are of great thickneſs, arched on the top with ſtone, and ſurrounded with battlements. The reſt of the houſe is later, though far from modern.

We were favoured by a gentleman, who lives in the caſtle, with a letter to one of the officers at *Fort George*, which being the moſt regular fortification in the iſland, well deſerves the notice of a traveller, who has never travelled before. We went thither next day, found a very kind reception, were led round the works by a gentleman, who explained the uſe of every part, and entertained by Sir *Eyre Coote*, the governor, with ſuch elegance of converſation, as left us no attention to the delicacies of his table.

Of *Fort George* I ſhall not attempt to give any account. I cannot delineate it ſcientifically, and a looſe and popular deſcription is of uſe only when the imagination is to be amuſed. There was every-where an appearance of the utmoſt neatneſs and regularity. But my ſuffrage is of little value, becauſe this and *Fort Auguſtus* are the only garriſons that I ever ſaw.

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We did not regret the time ſpent at the fort, though in conſequence of our delay we came ſomewhat late to *Inverneſs*, the town which may properly be called the capital of the Highlands. Hither the inhabitants of the inland parts come to be ſupplied with what they cannot make for themſelves: hither the young nymphs of the mountains and vallies are ſent for education, and as far as my obſervation has reached, are not ſent in vain.

## INVERNESS.

*Inverneſs* was the laſt place which had a regular communication by high roads with the ſouthern counties. All the ways beyond it have, I believe, been made by the ſoldiers in this century. At *Inverneſs* therefore *Cromwell*, when he ſubdued *Scotland*, ſtationed a garriſon, as at the boundary of the Highlands. The ſoldiers ſeem to have incorporated afterwards with the inhabitants, and to have peopled the place with an *Engliſh* race; for the language of this town has been long conſidered as peculiarly elegant.

Here is a caſtle, called the caſtle of *Macbeth*, the walls of which are yet ſtanding. It was no very capacious edifice, but ſtands upon a rock ſo high and ſteep, that I think it was once not acceſſible, but by the help of ladders, or a bridge. Over againſt it, on another hill, was a fort built by *Cromwell*, now totally demoliſhed; for no faction of *Scotland* loved the name of *Cromwell*, or had any deſire to continue his memory.

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Yet what the *Romans* did to other nations, was in a great degree done by *Cromwell* to the *Scots*; he civilized them by conqueſt, and introduced by uſeful violence the arts of peace. I was told at *Aberdeen*, that the people learned from *Cromwell*'s ſoldiers to make ſhoes and to plant kail.

How they lived without kail, it is not eaſy to gueſs; they cultivate hardly any other plant for common tables, and when they had not kail they probably had nothing. The numbers that go bare-foot are ſtill ſufficient to ſhew that ſhoes may be ſpared; they are not yet conſidered as neceſſaries of life; for tall boys, not otherwiſe meanly dreſſed, run without them in the ſtreets; and in the iſlands the ſons of gentlemen paſs ſeveral of their firſt years with naked feet.

I know not whether it be not peculiar to the *Scots* to have attained the liberal, without the manual arts, to have excelled in ornamental knowledge, and to have wanted not only the elegancies, but the conveniencies of common life. Literature ſoon after its revival found its way to *Scotland*, and from the middle of the ſixteenth century, almoſt to the middle of the ſeventeenth, the politer ſtudies were very diligently purſued. The *Latin* poetry of *Deliciæ Poëtarum Scotorum* would have done honour to any nation; at leaſt till the publication of *May*'s *Supplement*, the *Engliſh* had very little to oppoſe.

Yet men thus ingenious and inquiſitive were content to live in total ignorance of the trades by which human wants are ſupplied, and to ſupply them by the groſſeſt means. Till the Union made them acquainted with *Engliſh* manners, the culture of their

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lands was unſkilful, and their domeſtick life unformed; their tables were coarſe as the feaſts of *Eſkimeaux*, and their houſes filthy as the cottages of *Hottentots*.

Since they have known that their condition was capable of improvement, their progreſs in uſeful knowledge has been rapid and uniform. What remains to be done they will quickly do, and then wonder, like me, why that which was ſo neceſſary and ſo eaſy was ſo long delayed. But they muſt be for ever content to owe to the *Engliſh* that elegance and culture, which, if they had been vigilant and active, perhaps the *Engliſh* might have owed to them.

Here the appearance of life began to alter. I had ſeen a few women with plaids at *Aberdeen*; but at *Inverneſs* the Highland manners are common. There is I think a kirk, in which only the *Erſe* language is uſed. There is likewiſe an *Engliſh* chapel, but meanly built, where on *Sunday* we ſaw a very decent congregation.

We were now to bid farewel to the luxury of travelling, and to enter a country upon which perhaps no wheel has ever rolled. We could indeed have uſed our poſt-chaiſe one day longer, along the military road to *Fort Auguſtus*, but we could have hired no horſes beyond *Inverneſs*, and we were not ſo ſparing of ourſelves, as to lead them, merely that we might have one day longer the indulgence of a carriage.

At *Inverneſs* therefore we procured three horſes for ourſelves and a ſervant, and one more for our baggage, which was no very heavy load. We found

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in the course of our journey the convenience of having disencumbered ourselves, by laying aside whatever we could spare; for it is not to be imagined without experience, how in climbing crags, and treading bogs, and winding through narrow and obstructed passages, a little bulk will hinder, and a little weight will burden; or how often a man that has pleased himself at home with his own resolution, will, in the hour of darkness and fatigue, be content to leave behind him every thing but himself.

## LOUGH NESS.

We took two Highlanders to run beside us, partly to shew us the way, and partly to take back from the sea-side the horses, of which they were the owners. One of them was a man of great liveliness and activity, of whom his companion said, that he would tire any horse in *Inverness*. Both of them were civil and ready-handed. Civility seems part of the national character of Highlanders. Every chieftain is a monarch, and politeness, the natural product of royal government, is diffused from the laird through the whole clan. But they are not commonly dextrous: their narrowness of life confines them to a few operations, and they are accustomed to endure little wants more than to remove them.

We mounted our steeds on the twenty-eighth of *August*, and directed our guides to conduct us to *Fort Augustus*. It is built at the head of *Lough Ness*, of which *Inverness* stands at the outlet. The way between them has been cut by the soldiers, and the

greater part of it runs along a rock, levelled with great labour and exactneſs, near the water-ſide.

Moſt of this day's journey was very pleaſant. The day, though bright, was not hot; and the appearance of the country, if I had not ſeen the *Peak*, would have been wholly new. We went upon a ſurface ſo hard and level, that we had little care to hold the bridle, and were therefore at full leiſure for contemplation. On the left were high and ſteepy rocks ſhaded with birch, the hardy native of the north, and covered with fern or heath. On the right the limpid waters of *Lough Neſs* were beating their bank, and waving their ſurface by a gentle agitation. Beyond them were rocks ſometimes covered with verdure, and ſometimes towering in horrid nakedneſs. Now and then we eſpied a little corn-field, which ſerved to impreſs more ſtrongly the general barrenneſs.

*Lough Neſs* is about twenty-four miles long, and from one mile to two miles broad. It is remarkable that *Boethius*, in his deſcription of *Scotland*, gives it twelve miles of breadth. When hiſtorians or geographers exhibit falſe accounts of places far diſtant, they may be forgiven, becauſe they can tell but what they are told; and that their accounts exceed the truth may be juſtly ſuppoſed, becauſe moſt men exaggerate to others, if not to themſelves: but *Boethius* lived at no great diſtance; if he never ſaw the lake, he muſt have been very incurious, and if he had ſeen it, his veracity yielded to very ſlight temptations.

*Lough Neſs*, though not twelve miles broad, is a very remarkable diffuſion of water without iſlands.

It fills a large hollow between two ridges of high rocks, being ſupplied partly by the torrents which fall into it on either ſide, and partly, as is ſuppoſed, by ſprings at the bottom. Its water is remarkably clear and pleaſant, and is imagined by the natives to be medicinal. We were told, that it is in ſome places a hundred and forty fathom deep, a profundity ſcarcely credible, and which probably thoſe that relate it have never ſounded. Its fiſh are ſalmon, trout, and pike.

It was ſaid at *Fort Auguſtus*, that *Lough Neſs* is open in the hardeſt winters, though a lake not far from it is covered with ice. In diſcuſſing theſe exceptions from the courſe of nature, the firſt queſtion is, whether the fact be juſtly ſtated. That which is ſtrange is delightful, and a pleaſing error is not willingly detected. Accuracy of narration is not very common, and there are few ſo rigidly philoſophical, as not to repreſent as perpetual, what is only frequent, or as conſtant, what is really caſual. If it be true that *Lough Neſs* never freezes, it is either ſheltered by its high banks from the cold blaſts, and expoſed only to thoſe winds which have more power to agitate than congeal; or it is kept in perpetual motion by the ruſh of ſtreams from the rocks that incloſe it. Its profundity, though it ſhould be ſuch as is repreſented, can have little part in this exemption; for though deep wells are not frozen, becauſe their water is ſecluded from the external air, yet where a wide ſurface is expoſed to the full influence of a freezing atmoſphere, I know not why the depth ſhould keep it open. Natural philoſophy is now one of the favourite ſtudies of the

*Scottiſh*

*Scottiſh* nation, and *Lough Neſs* well deſerves to be diligently examined.

The road on which we travelled, and which was itſelf a ſource of entertainment, is made along the rock, in the direction of the lough, ſometimes by breaking off protuberances, and ſometimes by cutting the great maſs of ſtone to a conſiderable depth. The fragments are piled in a looſe wall on either ſide, with apertures left at very ſhort ſpaces, to give a paſſage to the wintry currents. Part of it is bordered with low trees, from which our guides gathered nuts, and would have had the appearance of an *Engliſh* lane, except that an *Engliſh* lane is almoſt always dirty. It has been made with great labour, but has this advantage, that it cannot, without equal labour, be broken up.

Within our ſight there were goats feeding or playing. The mountains have red deer, but they came not within view; and if what is ſaid of their vigilance and ſubtlety be true, they have ſome claim to that palm of wiſdom, which the eaſtern philoſopher, whom *Alexander* interrogated, gave to thoſe beaſts which live furtheſt from men.

Near the way, by the water-ſide, we eſpied a cottage. This was the firſt Highland hut that I had ſeen; and as our buſineſs was with life and manners, we were willing to viſit it. To enter a habitation without leave, ſeems to be not conſidered here as rudeneſs or intruſion. The old laws of hoſpitality ſtill give this licence to a ſtranger.

A hut is conſtructed with looſe ſtones, ranged for the moſt part with ſome tendency to circularity. It muſt be placed where the wind cannot act upon it

with violence, becauſe it has no cement; and where the water will run eaſily away, becauſe it has no floor but the naked ground. The wall, which is commonly about ſix feet high, declines from the perpendicular a little inward. Such rafters as can be procured are then raiſed for a roof, and covered with heath, which makes a ſtrong and warm thatch, kept from flying off by ropes of twiſted heath, of which the ends, reaching from the centre of the thatch to the top of the wall, are held firm by the weight of a large ſtone. No light is admitted but at the entrance, and through a hole in the thatch, which gives vent to the ſmoke. This hole is not directly over the fire, leſt the rain ſhould extinguiſh it; and the ſmoke therefore naturally fills the place before it eſcapes. Such is the general ſtructure of the houſes in which one of the nations of this opulent and powerful iſland has been hitherto content to live. Huts however are not more uniform than palaces; and this which we were inſpecting was very far from one of the meaneſt, for it was divided into ſeveral apartments; and its inhabitants poſſeſſed ſuch property as a paſtoral poet might exalt into riches.

When we entered, we found an old woman boiling goat's-fleſh in a kettle. She ſpoke little *Engliſh*, but we had interpreters at hand, and ſhe was willing enough to diſplay her whole ſyſtem of œconomy. She has five children, of which none are yet gone from her. The eldeſt, a boy of thirteen, and her huſband, who is eighty years old, were at work in the wood. Her two next ſons were gone to *Inverneſs* to buy *meal*, by which oatmeal is always meant. Meal ſhe conſidered

as expenſive food, and told us, that in ſpring when the goats gave milk, the children could live without it. She is miſtreſs of ſixty goats, and I ſaw many kids in an encloſure at the end of her houſe. She had alſo ſome poultry. By the lake we ſaw a potatoe-garden, and a ſmall ſpot of ground on which ſtood four ſhucks, containing each twelve ſheaves of barley. She has all this from the labour of their own hands, and for what is neceſſary to be bought, her kids and her chickens are ſent to market.

With the true paſtoral hoſpitality, ſhe aſked us to ſit down and drink whiſky. She is religious, and though the kirk is four miles off, probably eight *Engliſh* miles, ſhe goes thither every *Sunday*. We gave her a ſhilling, and ſhe begged ſnuff; for ſnuff is the luxury of a Highland cottage.

Soon afterwards we came to the *General's Hut*, ſo called becauſe it was the temporary abode of *Wade*, while he ſuperintended the works upon the road. It is now a houſe of entertainment for paſſengers, and we found it not ill ſtocked with proviſions.

## FALL OF FIERS.

Towards evening we croſſed by a bridge, the river which makes the celebrated *Fall of Fiers*. The country at the bridge ſtrikes the imagination with all the gloom and grandeur of *Siberian* ſolitude. The way makes a flexure, and the mountains, covered with trees, riſe at once on the left hand and in the front. We deſired our guides to ſhew us the *Fall*, and diſmounting clambered over very rugged crags, till I began to wiſh that our curioſity might

have been gratified with less trouble and danger. We came at laſt to a place where we could overlook the river, and ſaw a channel torn, as it ſeems, through black piles of ſtone, by which the ſtream is obſtructed and broken, till it comes to a very ſteep deſcent, of ſuch dreadful depth, that we were naturally inclined to turn aſide our eyes.

But we viſited the place at an unſeaſonable time, and found it diveſted of its dignity and terror. Nature never gives every thing at once. A long continuance of dry weather, which made the reſt of the way eaſy and delightful, deprived us of the pleaſure expected from the *Fall of Fiers*. The river having now no water but what the ſprings ſupply, ſhowed us only a ſwift current, clear and ſhallow, fretting over the aſperities of the rocky bottom; and we were left to exerciſe our thoughts, by endeavouring to conceive the effect of a thouſand ſtreams poured from the mountains into one channel, ſtruggling for expanſion in a narrow paſſage, exaſperated by rocks riſing in their way, and at laſt diſcharging all their violence of waters by a ſudden fall through the horrid chaſm.

The way now grew leſs eaſy, deſcending by an uneven declivity, but without either dirt or danger. We did not arrive at *Fort Auguſtus* till it was late. Mr. *Boſwell*, who, between his father's merit and his own, is ſure of reception wherever he comes, ſent a ſervant before to beg admiſſion and entertainment for that night. Mr. *Trapaud*, the governor, treated us with that courteſy which is ſo cloſely connected with the military character. He came out to meet

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us beyond the gates, and apologized that, at ſo late an hour, the rules of a garriſon ſuffered him to give us entrance only at the poſtern.

## FORT AUGUSTUS.

In the morning we viewed the fort, which is much leſs than that of *St. George*, and is ſaid to be commanded by the neighbouring hills. It was not long ago taken by the *Highlanders*. But its ſituation ſeems well choſen for pleaſure, if not for ſtrength; it ſtands at the head of the lake, and, by a ſloop of ſixty tons, is ſupplied from *Inverneſs* with great convenience.

We were now to croſs the *Highlands* towards the weſtern coaſt, and to content ourſelves with ſuch accommodations, as a way ſo little frequented could afford. The journey was not formidable, for it was but of two days, very unequally divided, becauſe the only houſe where we could be entertained, was not further off than a third of the way. We ſoon came to a high hill, which we mounted by a military road, cut in traverſes, ſo that as we went upon a higher ſtage, we ſaw the baggage following us below in a contrary direction. To make this way, the rock has been hewn to a level with labour that might have broken the perſeverance of a *Roman* legion.

The country is totally denuded of its wood, but the ſtumps both of oaks and firs, which are ſtill found, ſhew that it has been once a foreſt of large timber. I do not remember that we ſaw any animals, but we were told that, in the mountains, there are ſtags, roebucks, goats, and rabbits.

We did not perceive that this tract was poſſeſſed by human beings, except that once we ſaw a corn-field, in which a lady was walking with ſome gentlemen. Their houſe was certainly at no great diſtance, but ſo ſituated that we could not deſcry it.

Paſſing on through the drearineſs of ſolitude, we found a party of ſoldiers from the fort, working on the road, under the ſuperintendence of a ſerjeant. We told them how kindly we had been treated at the garriſon, and as we were enjoying the benefit of their labours, begged leave to ſhew our gratitude by a ſmall preſent.

## ANOCH.

Early in the afternoon we came to *Anoch*, a village in *Glenmolliſon* of three huts, one of which is diſtinguiſhed by a chimney. Here we were to dine and lodge, and were conducted through the firſt room, that had the chimney, into another lighted by a ſmall glaſs window. The landlord attended us with great civility, and told us what he could give us to eat and drink. I found ſome books on a ſhelf, among which were a volume or more of *Prideaux*'s *Connection*.

This I mentioned as ſomething unexpected, and perceived that I did not pleaſe him. I praiſed the propriety of his language, and was anſwered that I need not wonder, for he had learned it by grammar.

By ſubſequent opportunities of obſervation I found that my hoſt's diction had nothing peculiar. Thoſe *Highlanders* that can ſpeak *Engliſh*, commonly ſpeak it well, with few of the words, and little of the tone by which a *Scotchman* is diſtinguiſhed. Their

Their language ſeems to have been learned in the army or the navy, or by ſome communication with thoſe who could give them good examples of accent and pronunciation. By their Lowland neighbours they would not willingly be taught; for they have long conſidered them as a mean and degenerate race. Theſe prejudices are wearing faſt away; but ſo much of them ſtill remains, that when I aſked a very learned miniſter in the iſlands, which they conſidered as their moſt ſavage clans: "*Thoſe*, ſaid he, *that live next* " *the Lowlands.*"

As we came hither early in the day, we had time ſufficient to ſurvey the place. The houſe was built like other huts of looſe ſtones, but the part in which we dined and ſlept was lined with turf and wattled with twigs, which kept the earth from falling. Near it was a garden of turnips and a field of potatoes. It ſtands in a glen, or valley, pleaſantly watered by a winding river. But this country, however it may delight the gazer or amuſe the naturaliſt, is of no great advantage to its owners. Our landlord told us of a gentleman, who poſſeſſes lands, eighteen *Scotch* miles in length, and three in breadth; a ſpace containing at leaſt a hundred ſquare *Engliſh* miles. He has raiſed his rents, to the danger of depopulating his farms, and he ſells his timber, and by exerting every art of augmentation, has obtained a yearly revenue of four hundred pounds, which for a hundred ſquare miles is three half-pence an acre.

Some time after dinner we were ſurpriſed by the entrance of a young woman, not inelegant either in mien or dreſs, who aſked us whether we would have tea.

tea. We found that ſhe was the daughter of our hoſt, and deſired her to make it. Her converſation, like her appearance, was gentle and pleaſing. We knew that the girls of the *Highlands* are all gentlewomen, and treated her with great reſpect, which ſhe received as cuſtomary and due, and was neither elated by it, nor confuſed, but repaid my civilities without embarraſſment, and told me how much I honoured her country by coming to ſurvey it.

She had been at *Inverneſs* to gain the common female qualifications, and had, like her father, the *Engliſh* pronunciation. I preſented her with a book, which I happened to have about me, and ſhould not be pleaſed to think that ſhe forgets me.

In the evening the ſoldiers, whom we had paſſed on the road, came to ſpend at our inn the little money that we had given them. They had the true military impatience of coin in their pockets, and had marched at leaſt ſix miles to find the firſt place where liquor could be bought. Having never been before in a place ſo wild and unfrequented, I was glad of their arrival, becauſe I knew that we had made them friends, and to gain ſtill more of their good-will, we went to them, where they were carouſing in the barn, and added ſomething to our former gift. All that we gave was not much, but it detained them in the barn, either merry or quarrelling, the whole night, and in the morning they went back to their work, with great indignation at the bad qualities of whiſky.

We had gained ſo much the favour of our hoſt, that, when we left his houſe in the morning, he walked by us a great way, and entertained us with

converſation

conversation both on his own condition, and that of the country. His life seemed to be merely pastoral, except that he differed from some of the ancient *Nomades* in having a settled dwelling. His wealth consists of one hundred sheep, as many goats, twelve milk-cows, and twenty-eight beeves ready for the drover.

From him we first heard of the general dissatisfaction, which is now driving the *Highlanders* into the other hemisphere; and when I asked him whether they would stay at home, if they were well treated, he answered with indignation, that no man willingly left his native country. Of the farm, which he himself occupied, the rent had, in twenty-five years, been advanced from five to twenty pounds, which he found himself so little able to pay, that he would be glad to try his fortune in some other place. Yet he owned the reasonableness of raising the *Highland* rents in a certain degree, and declared himself willing to pay ten pounds for the ground which he had formerly had for five.

Our host having amused us for a time, resigned us to our guides. The journey of this day was long, not that the distance was great, but that the way was difficult. We were now in the bosom of the *Highlands*, with full leisure to contemplate the appearance and properties of mountainous regions, such as have been, in many countries, the last shelters of national distress, and are every where the scenes of adventures, stratagems, surprises, and escapes.

Mountainous countries are not passed but with difficulty, not merely from the labour of climbing: for

ſor to climb is not always neceſſary: but becauſe that which is not mountain is commonly bog, through which the way muſt be picked with caution. Where there are hills, there is much rain, and the torrents pouring down into the intermediate ſpaces, ſeldom find ſo ready an outlet, as not to ſtagnate, till they have broken the texture of the ground.

Of the hills, which our journey offered to the view on either ſide, we did not take the height, nor did we ſee any that aſtoniſhed us with their loftineſs. Towards the ſummit of one, there was a white ſpot, which I ſhould have called a naked rock, but the guides, who had better eyes, and were acquainted with the phænomena of the country, declared it to be ſnow. It had already laſted to the end of *Auguſt*, and was likely to maintain its conteſt with the ſun, till it ſhould be reinforced by winter.

The height of mountains philoſophically conſidered is properly computed from the ſurface of the next ſea; but as it affects the eye or imagination of the paſſenger, as it makes either a ſpectacle or an obſtruction, it muſt be reckoned from the place where the riſe begins to make a conſiderable angle with the plain. In extenſive continents the land may, by gradual elevation, attain great height, without any other appearance than that of a plane gently inclined, and if a hill placed upon ſuch raiſed ground be deſcribed, as having its altitude equal to the whole ſpace above the ſea, the repreſentation will be fallacious.

Theſe mountains may be properly enough meaſured from the inland baſe; for it is not much above the ſea. As we advanced at evening towards the weſtern

weſtern coaſt, I did not obſerve the declivity to be greater than is neceſſary for the diſcharge of the inland waters.

We paſſed many rivers and rivulets, which commonly ran with a clear ſhallow ſtream over a hard pebbly bottom. Theſe channels, which ſeem ſo much wider than the water that they convey would naturally require, are formed by the violence of wintry floods, produced by the accumulation of innumerable ſtreams that fall in rainy weather from the hills, and burſting away with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, make themſelves a paſſage proportionate to their maſs.

Such capricious and temporary waters cannot be expected to produce many fiſh. The rapidity of the wintry deluge ſweeps them away, and the ſcantineſs of the ſummer ſtream would hardly ſuſtain them above the ground. This is the reaſon why in fording the northern rivers, no fiſhes are ſeen, as in *England*, wandering in the water.

Of the hills many may be called with *Homer*'s *Ida*, *abundant in ſprings*, but few can deſerve the epithet which he beſtows upon *Pelion*, by *waving their leaves*. They exhibit very little variety; being almoſt wholly covered with dark heath, and even that ſeems to be checked in its growth. What is not heath is nakedneſs, a little diverſified by now and then a ſtream ruſhing down the ſteep. An eye accuſtomed to flowery paſtures and waving harveſts is aſtoniſhed and repelled by this wide extent of hopeleſs ſterility. The appearance is that of matter incapable of form or uſefulneſs, diſmiſſed by nature from her care, and diſ-

inherited

inherited of her ſavours, left in its original elemental ſtate, or quickened only with one ſullen power of uſeleſs vegetation.

It will very readily occur, that this uniformity of barrenneſs can afford very little amuſement to the traveller; that it is eaſy to ſit at home and conceive rocks, and heath, and waterfalls; and that theſe journies are uſeleſs labours, which neither impregnate the imagination, nor enlarge the underſtanding. It is true, that of far the greater part of things, we muſt content ourſelves with ſuch knowledge as deſcription may exhibit, or analogy ſupply; but it is true likewiſe, that theſe ideas are always incomplete, and that, at leaſt, till we have compared them with realities, we do not know them to be juſt. As we ſee more, we become poſſeſſed of more certainties, and conſequently gain more principles of reaſoning, and found a wider baſis of analogy.

Regions mountainous and wild, thinly inhabited, and little cultivated, make a great part of the earth, and he that has never ſeen them, muſt live unacquainted with much of the face of nature, and with one of the great ſcenes of human exiſtence.

As the day advanced towards noon, we entered a narrow valley not very flowery, but ſufficiently verdant. Our guides told us, that the horſes could not travel all day without reſt or meat, and entreated us to ſtop here, becauſe no graſs would be found in any other place. The requeſt was reaſonable, and the argument cogent. We therefore willingly diſmounted, and diverted ourſelves as the place gave us opportunity.

I sat down on a bank, such as a writer of romance might have delighted to feign. I had indeed no trees to whisper over my head, but a clear rivulet streamed at my feet. The day was calm, the air was soft, and all was rudeness, silence, and solitude. Before me, and on either side, were high hills, which, by hindering the eye from ranging, forced the mind to find entertainment for itself. Whether I spent the hour well I know not; for here I first conceived the thought of this narration.

We were in this place at ease and by choice, and had no evils to suffer or to fear; yet the imaginations excited by the view of an unknown and untravelled wilderness are not such as arise in the artificial solitude of parks and gardens, a flattering notion of self-sufficiency, a placid indulgence of voluntary delusions, a secure expansion of the fancy, or a cool concentration of the mental powers. The phantoms which haunt a desert are want, and misery, and danger; the evils of dereliction rush upon the thoughts; man is made unwillingly acquainted with his own weakness, and meditation shews him only how little he can sustain, and how little he can perform. There were no traces of inhabitants, except perhaps a rude pile of clods called a summer hut, in which a herdsman had rested in the favourable seasons. Whoever had been in the place where I then sat, unprovided with provisions, and ignorant of the country, might, at least before the roads were made, have wandered among the rocks, till he had perished with hardship, before he could have found either food or shelter. Yet what are these

hillocks

hillocks to the ridges of *Taurus*, or these spots of wilderness to the deserts of *America*?

It was not long before we were invited to mount, and continued our journey along the side of a lough, kept full by many streams, which with more or less rapidity and noise crossed the road from the hills on the other hand. These currents, in their diminished state, after several dry months, afford, to one who has always lived in level countries, an unusual and delightful spectacle; but in the rainy season, such as every winter may be expected to bring, must precipitate an impetuous and tremendous flood. I suppose the way by which we went, is at this time impassable.

## GLENSHEALS.

The lough at last ended in a river broad and shallow like the rest, but that it may be passed when it is deeper, there is a bridge over it. Beyond it is a valley called *Glensheals*, inhabited by the clan of *Macrae*. Here we found a village called *Auknasheals*, consisting of many huts, perhaps twenty, built all of *dry-stone*, that is, stones piled up without mortar.

We had, by the direction of the officers at *Fort Augustus*, taken bread for ourselves, and tobacco for those *Highlanders* who might shew us any kindness. We were now at a place where we could obtain milk, but must have wanted bread if we had not brought it. The people of this valley did not appear to know any *English*, and our guides now became doubly necessary as interpreters. A woman, whose

whoſe hut was diſtinguiſhed by greater ſpaciouſneſs and better architecture, brought out ſome pails of milk. The villagers gathered about us in conſiderable numbers, I believe without any evil intention, but with a very ſavage wildneſs of aſpect and manner. When our meal was over, Mr. *Boſwell* ſliced the bread, and divided it amongſt them, as he ſuppoſed them never to have taſted a wheaten loaf before. He then gave them little pieces of twiſted tobacco, and among the children we diſtributed a ſmall handful of halfpence, which they received with great eagerneſs. Yet I have been ſince told, that the people of that valley are not indigent; and when we mentioned them afterwards as needy and pitiable, a *Highland* lady let us know, that we might ſpare our commiſeration; for the dame whoſe milk we drank had probably more than a dozen milk-cows. She ſeemed unwilling to take any price, but being preſſed to make a demand, at laſt named a ſhilling. Honeſty is not greater where elegance is leſs. One of the by-ſtanders, as we were told afterwards, adviſed her to aſk more, but ſhe ſaid a ſhilling was enough. We gave her half a crown, and I hope got ſome credit by our behaviour; for the company ſaid, if our interpreters did not flatter us, that they had not ſeen ſuch a day ſince the old laird of *Macleod* paſſed through their country.

The *Macraes*, as we heard afterwards in the *Hebrides*, were originally an indigent and ſubordinate clan, and having no farms nor ſtock, were in great numbers ſervants to the *Maclellans*, who, in the war of *Charles* the Firſt, took arms at the call

of the heroick *Montrose*, and were, in one of his battles, almost all destroyed. The women that were left at home, being thus deprived of their husbands, like the *Scythian* ladies of old, married their servants, and the *Macraes* became a considerable race.

## THE HIGHLANDS.

As we continued our journey, we were at leisure to extend our speculations, and to investigate the reason of those peculiarities by which such rugged regions as these before us are generally distinguished.

Mountainous countries commonly contain the original, at least the oldest race of inhabitants, for they are not easily conquered, because they must be entered by narrow ways, exposed to every power of mischief from those that occupy the heights; and every new ridge is a new fortress, where the defendants have again the same advantages. If the assailants either force the strait, or storm the summit, they gain only so much ground; their enemies are fled to take possession of the next rock, and the pursuers stand at gaze, knowing neither where the ways of escape wind among the steeps, nor where the bog has firmness to sustain them: besides that, mountaineers have an agility in climbing and descending distinct from strength or courage, and attainable only by use.

If the war be not soon concluded, the invaders are dislodged by hunger; for in those anxious and toilsome marches, provisions cannot easily be carried, and are never to be found. The wealth of mountains is cattle, which, while the men stand in the

the paſſes, the women drive away. Such lands at laſt cannot repay the expence of conqueſt, and therefore perhaps have not been ſo often invaded by the mere ambition of dominion; as by reſentment of robberies and inſults, or the deſire of enjoying in ſecurity the more fruitful provinces.

As mountaineers are long before they are conquered, they are likewiſe long before they are civilized. Men are ſoftened by intercourſe mutually profitable, and inſtructed by comparing their own notions with thoſe of others. Thus *Cæſar* found the maritime parts of *Britain* made leſs barbarous by their commerce with the *Gauls*. Into a barren and rough tract no ſtranger is brought either by the hope of gain or of pleaſure. The inhabitants having neither commodities for ſale, nor money for purchaſe, ſeldom viſit more poliſhed places, or if they do viſit them ſeldom return.

It ſometimes happens that by conqueſt, intermixture, or gradual refinement, the cultivated parts of a country change their language. The mountaineers then become a diſtinct nation, cut off by diſſimilitude of ſpeech from converſation with their neighbours. Thus in *Biſcay*, the original *Cantabrian*, and in *Dalecarlia*, the old *Swediſh* ſtill ſubſiſts. Thus *Wales* and the *Highlands* ſpeak the tongue of the firſt inhabitants of *Britain*, while the other parts have received firſt the *Saxon*, and in ſome degree afterwards the *French*, and then formed a third language between them.

That the primitive manners are continued where the primitive language is ſpoken, no nation will deſire me to ſuppoſe, for the manners of mountaineers

are commonly ſavage, but they are rather produced by their ſituation than derived from their anceſtors.

Such ſeems to be the diſpoſition of man, that whatever makes a diſtinction produces rivalry. *England*, before other cauſes of enmity were found, was diſturbed for ſome centuries by the conteſts of the northern and ſouthern counties; ſo that at *Oxford*, the peace of ſtudy could for a long time be preſerved only by chuſing annually one of the proctors from each ſide of the *Trent*. A tract interſected by many ridges of mountains, naturally divides its inhabitants into petty nations, which are made by a thouſand cauſes enemies to each other. Each will exalt its own chiefs, each will boaſt the valour of its men, or the beauty of its women, and every claim of ſuperiority irritates competition; injuries will ſometimes be done, and be more injuriouſly defended; retaliation will ſometimes be attempted, and the debt exacted with too much intereſt.

In the *Highlands* it was a law, that if a robber was ſheltered from juſtice, any man of the ſame clan might be taken in his place. This was a kind of irregular juſtice, which, though neceſſary in ſavage times, could hardly fail to end in a feud; and a feud once kindled among an idle people, with no variety of purſuits to divert their thoughts, burnt on for ages, either ſullenly glowing in ſecret miſchief, or openly blazing into publick violence. Of the effects of this violent judicature, there are not wanting memorials. The cave is now to be ſeen to which one of the *Campbells*, who had injured the *Macdonalds*, retired with a body of his own clan. The *Macdonalds*

*nalds* required the offender, and being refused, made a fire at the mouth of the cave, by which he and his adherents were suffocated together.

Mountaineers are warlike, because by their feuds and competitions they consider themselves as surrounded with enemies, and are always prepared to repel incursions, or to make them. Like the *Greeks* in their unpolished state, described by *Thucydides*, the *Highlanders*, till lately, went always armed, and carried their weapons to visits, and to church.

Mountaineers are thievish, because they are poor, and having neither manufactures nor commerce, can grow richer only by robbery. They regularly plunder their neighbours, for their neighbours are commonly their enemies; and having lost that reverence for property, by which the order of civil life is preserved, soon consider all as enemies, whom they do not reckon as friends, and think themselves licensed to invade whatever they are not obliged to protect.

By a strict administration of the laws, since the laws have been introduced into the *Highlands*, this disposition to thievery is very much repressed. Thirty years ago no herd had ever been conducted through the mountains, without paying tribute in the night to some of the clans; but cattle are now driven, and passengers travel, without danger, fear, or molestation.

Among a warlike people, the quality of highest esteem is personal courage, and with the ostentatious display of courage are closely connected promptitude of offence, and quickness of resentment. The

*Highlanders* before they were disarmed, were so addicted to quarrels, that the boys used to follow any publick procession or ceremony, however festive or however solemn, in expectation of the battle, which was sure to happen before the company dispersed.

Mountainous regions are sometimes so remote from the seat of government, and so difficult of access, that they are very little under the influence of the sovereign, or within the reach of national justice. Law is nothing without power; and the sentence of a distant court could not be easily executed, nor perhaps very safely promulgated, among men ignorantly proud and habitually violent, unconnected with the general system, and accustomed to reverence only their own lords. It has therefore been necessary to erect many particular jurisdictions, and commit the punishment of crimes, and the decision of right, to the proprietors of the country who could enforce their own decrees. It immediately appears that such judges will be often ignorant, and often partial; but in the immaturity of political establishments no better expedient could be found. As government advances towards perfection, provincial judicature is perhaps in every empire gradually abolished.

Those who had thus the dispensation of law, were by consequence themselves lawless. Their vassals had no shelter from outrages and oppressions; but were condemned to endure, without resistance, the caprices of wantonness, and the rage of cruelty.

In the *Highlands*, some great lords had an hereditary jurisdiction over counties; and some chieftains

tains over their own lands; till the final conqueſt of the *Highlands* afforded an opportunity of cruſhing all the local courts, and of extending the general benefits of equal law to the low and the high, in the deepeſt receſſes and obſcureſt corners.

While the chiefs had this reſemblance of royalty, they had little inclination to appeal, on any queſtion, to ſuperior judicatures. A claim of lands between two powerful lairds was decided like a conteſt for dominion between ſovereign powers. They drew their forces into the field, and right attended on the ſtrongeſt. This was, in ruder times, the common practice, which the kings of *Scotland* could ſeldom controul.

Even ſo lately as in the laſt years of king *William*, a battle was fought at *Mull Roy*, on a plain a few miles to the ſouth of *Inverneſs*, between the clans of *Mackintoſh* and *Macdonald* of *Keppoch*. Colonel *Macdonald*, the head of a ſmall clan, refuſed to pay the dues demanded from him by *Mackintoſh*, as his ſuperior lord. They diſdained the interpoſition of judges and laws, and calling each his followers to maintain the dignity of the clan, fought a formal battle, in which ſeveral conſiderable men fell on the ſide of *Mackintoſh*, without a complete victory to either. This is ſaid to have been the laſt open war made between the clans by their own authority.

The *Highland* lords made treaties, and formed alliances, of which ſome traces may ſtill be found, and ſome conſequences ſtill remain as laſting evidences of petty regality. The terms of one of theſe confederacies were, that each ſhould ſupport the

other in the right, or in the wrong, except againſt the king.

The inhabitants of mountains form diſtinct races, and are careful to preſerve their genealogies. Men in a ſmall diſtrict neceſſarily mingle blood by intermarriages, and combine at laſt into one family, with a common intereſt in the honour and diſgrace of every individual. Then begins that union of affections, and co-operation of endeavours, that conſtitute a clan. They who conſider themſelves as ennobled by their family, will think highly of their progenitors, and they who through ſucceſſive generations live always together in the ſame place, will preſerve local ſtories and hereditary prejudices. Thus every *Highlander* can talk of his anceſtors, and recount the outrages which they ſuffered from the wicked inhabitants of the next valley.

Such are the effects of habitation among mountains, and ſuch were the qualities of the *Highlanders*, while their rocks ſecluded them from the reſt of mankind, and kept them an unaltered and diſcriminated race. They are now loſing their diſtinction, and haſtening to mingle with the general community.

## GLENELG.

We left *Auknaſheals* and the *Macraes* in the afternoon, and in the evening came to *Ratiken*, a high hill on which a road is cut, but ſo ſteep and narrow that it is very difficult. There is now a deſign of making another way round the bottom. Upon one of the precipices, my horſe, weary with the ſteepneſs of the riſe, ſtaggered a little, and I called in haſte

haſte to the *Highlander* to hold him. This was the only moment of my journey, in which I thought myſelf endangered.

Having ſurmounted the hill at laſt, we were told, that at *Glenelg*, on the ſea-ſide, we ſhould come to a houſe of lime and ſlate and glaſs. This image of magnificence raiſed our expectation. At laſt we came to our inn weary and peeviſh, and began to enquire for meat and beds.

Of the proviſions the negative catalogue was very copious. Here was no meat, no milk, no bread, no eggs, no wine. We did not expreſs much ſatisfaction. Here however we were to ſtay. Whiſky we might have, and I believe at laſt they caught a fowl and killed it. We had ſome bread, and with that we prepared ourſelves to be contented, when we had a very eminent proof of *Highland* hoſpitality. Along ſome miles of the way, in the evening, a gentleman's ſervant had kept us company on foot with very little notice on our part. He left us near *Glenelg*, and we thought on him no more till he came to us again, in about two hours, with a preſent from his maſter of rum and ſugar. The man had mentioned his company, and the gentleman, whoſe name, I think, is *Gordon*, well knowing the penury of the place, had this attention to two men, whoſe names perhaps he had not heard, by whom his kindneſs was not likely to be ever repaid, and who could be recommended to him only by their neceſſities.

We were now to examine our lodging. Out of one of the beds, on which we were to repoſe, ſtarted up, at our entrance, a man black as a *Cyclops* from the

the forge. Other circumſtances of no elegant recital concurred to diſguſt us. We had been frighted by a lady at *Edinburgh*, with diſcouraging repreſentations of *Highland* lodgings. Sleep, however, was neceſſary. Our *Highlanders* had at laſt found ſome hay, with which the inn could not ſupply them. I directed them to bring a bundle into the room, and ſlept upon it in my riding coat. Mr. *Boſwell* being more delicate, laid himſelf ſheets with hay over and under him, and lay in linen like a gentleman.

## SKY. ARMIDEL.

In the morning, *September* the twentieth, we found ourſelves on the edge of the ſea. Having procured a boat, we diſmiſſed our *Highlanders*, whom I would recommend to the ſervice of any future travellers, and were ferried over to the iſle of *Sky*. We landed at *Armidel*, where we were met on the ſands by Sir *Alexander Macdonald*, who was at that time there with his lady, preparing to leave the iſland, and reſide at *Edinburgh*.

*Armidel* is a neat houſe, built where the *Macdonalds* had once a ſeat, which was burnt in the commotions that followed the Revolution. The walled orchard, which belonged to the former houſe, ſtill remains. It is well ſhaded by tall aſh trees, of a ſpecies, as Mr. *Janes* the foſſiliſt informed me, uncommonly valuable. This plantation is very properly mentioned* by Dr. *Campbell*, in his new account of the ſtate of *Britain*, and deſerves attention; becauſe it proves that the preſent nakedneſs of the *Hebrides* is not wholly the fault of nature.

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As we ſat at Sir *Alexander*'s table, we were entertained, according to the ancient uſage of the north, with the melody of the bagpipe. Every thing in thoſe countries has its hiſtory. As the bagpiper was playing, an elderly gentleman informed us, that in ſome remote time, the *Macdonalds* of *Glengary* having been injured, or offended by the inhabitants of *Culloden*, and reſolving to have juſtice or vengeance, came to *Culloden* on a *Sunday*, where, finding their enemies at worſhip, they ſhut them up in the church, which they ſet on fire; and this, ſaid he, is the tune that the piper played while they were burning.

Narrations like this, however uncertain, deſerve the notice of a traveller, becauſe they are the only records of a nation that has no hiſtorians, and afford the moſt genuine repreſentation of the life and character of the ancient *Highlanders*.

Under the denomination of *Highlander* are comprehended in *Scotland* all that now ſpeak the *Erſe* language, or retain the primitive manners, whether they live among the mountains or in the iſlands; and in that ſenſe I uſe the name, when there is not ſome apparent reaſon for making a diſtinction.

In *Sky* I firſt obſerved the uſe of brogues, a kind of artleſs ſhoes, ſtitched with thongs ſo looſely, that though they defend the foot from ſtones, they do not exclude water. Brogues were formerly made of raw hides, with the hair inwards, and ſuch are perhaps ſtill uſed in rude and remote parts; but they are ſaid not to laſt above two days. Where life is ſomewhat improved, they are now made of leather tanned with oak bark, as in other places, or with

the bark of birch, or roots of tormentil, a ſubſtance recommended in defect of bark, about forty years ago, to the *Iriſh* tanners, by one to whom the parliament of that kingdom voted a reward. The leather of *Sky* is not completely penetrated by vegetable matter, and therefore cannot be very durable.

My enquiries about brogues, gave me an early ſpecimen of *Highland* information. One day I was told, that to make brogues was a domeſtick art, which every man practiſed for himſelf, and that a pair of brogues was the work of an hour. I ſuppoſed that the huſband made brogues as the wife made an apron, till next day it was told me, that a brogue-maker was a trade, and that a pair would coſt half a crown. It will eaſily occur that theſe repreſentations may both be true, and that, in ſome places, men may buy them, and in others make them for themſelves; but I had both the accounts in the ſame houſe within two days.

Many of my ſubſequent enquiries upon more intereſting topicks ended in the like uncertainty. He that travels in the *Highlands* may eaſily ſaturate his ſoul with intelligence, if he will acquieſce in the firſt account. The *Highlander* gives to every queſtion an anſwer ſo prompt and peremptory, that ſkepticiſm itſelf is dared into ſilence, and the mind ſinks before the bold reporter in unreſiſting credulity; but if a ſecond queſtion be ventured, it breaks the enchantment; for it is immediately diſcovered, that what was told ſo confidently was told at hazard, and that ſuch fearleſſneſs of aſſertion was either the ſport of negligence, or the refuge of ignorance.

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If individuals are thus at variance with themſelves, it can be no wonder that the accounts of different men are contradictory. The traditions of an ignorant and ſavage people have been for ages negligently heard, and unſkilfully related. Diſtant events muſt have been mingled together, and the actions of one man given to another. Theſe, however, are deficiencies in ſtory, for which no man is now to be cenſured. It were enough, if what there is yet opportunity of examining were accurately inſpected, and juſtly repreſented; but ſuch is the laxity of *Highland* converſation, that the enquirer is kept in continual ſuſpenſe, and by a kind of intellectual retrogradation, knows leſs as he hears more.

In the iſlands the plaid is rarely worn. The law by which the *Highlanders* have been obliged to change the form of their dreſs, has, in all the places that we have viſited, been univerſally obeyed. I have ſeen only one gentleman completely clothed in the ancient habit, and by him it was worn only occaſionally and wantonly. The common people do not think themſelves under any legal neceſſity of having coats; for they ſay that the law againſt plaids was made by lord *Hardwicke*, and was in force only for his life: but the ſame poverty that made it then difficult for them to change their clothing, hinders them now from changing it again.

The fillibeg, or lower garment, is ſtill very common, and the bonnet almoſt univerſal; but their attire is ſuch as produces, in a ſufficient degree, the effect intended by the law, of aboliſhing the diſſimilitude of appearance between the *Highlanders* and the other inhabitants of *Britain*; and, if dreſs be ſuppoſed

posed to have much influence, facilitates their coalition with their fellow-subjects.

What we have long used we naturally like; and therefore the *Highlanders* were unwilling to lay aside their plaid, which yet to an unprejudiced spectator must appear an incommodious and cumbersome dress; for hanging loose upon the body, it must flutter in a quick motion, or require one of the hands to keep it close. The *Romans* always laid aside the gown when they had any thing to do. It was a dress so unsuitable to war, that the same word which signified a gown signified peace. The chief use of a plaid seems to be this, that they could commodiously wrap themselves in it, when they were obliged to sleep without a better cover.

In our passage from *Scotland* to *Sky*, we were wet for the first time with a shower. This was the beginning of the *Highland* winter, after which we were told that a succession of three dry days was not to be expected for many months. The winter of the *Hebrides* consists of little more than rain and wind. As they are surrounded by an ocean never frozen, the blasts that come to them over the water are too much softened to have the power of congelation. The salt loughs, or inlets of the sea, which shoot very far into the island, never have any ice upon them, and the pools of fresh water will never bear the walker. The snow that sometimes falls, is soon dissolved by the air, or the rain.

This is not the description of a cruel climate, yet the dark months are here a time of great distress; because the summer can do little more than feed itself,

ſelf, and winter comes with its cold and its ſcarcity upon families very ſlenderly provided.

CORIATACHAN IN SKY.

The third or fourth day after our arrival at *Armidel*, brought us an invitation to the iſle of *Raaſay*, which lies eaſt of *Sky*. It is incredible how ſoon the account of any event is propagated in theſe narrow countries by the love of talk, which much leiſure produces, and the relief given to the mind in the penury of inſular converſation by a new topick. The arrival of ſtrangers at a place ſo rarely viſited, excites rumour, and quickens curioſity. I know not whether we touched at any corner, where fame had not already prepared us a reception.

To gain a commodious paſſage to *Raaſay*, it was neceſſary to paſs over a large part of *Sky*. We were furniſhed therefore with horſes and a guide. In the iſlands there are no roads, nor any marks by which a ſtranger may find his way. The horſeman has always at his ſide a native of the place, who, by purſuing game, or tending cattle, or being often employed in meſſages or conduct, has learned where the ridge of the hill has breadth ſufficient to allow a horſe and his rider a paſſage, and where the moſs or bog is hard enough to bear them. The bogs are avoided as toilſome at leaſt, if not unſafe, and therefore the journey is made generally from precipice to precipice; from which if the eye ventures to look down, it ſees below a gloomy cavity, whence the ruſh of water is ſometimes heard.

But there ſeems to be in all this more alarm than danger. The *Highlander* walks carefully before, and the

the horſe, accuſtomed to the ground, follows him with little deviation. Sometimes the hill is too ſteep for the horſeman to keep his ſeat, and ſometimes the moſs is too tremulous to bear the double weight of horſe and man. The rider then diſmounts, and all ſhift as they can.

Journies made in this manner are rather tedious than long. A very few miles require ſeveral hours. From *Armidel* we came at night to *Coriatachan*, a houſe very pleaſantly ſituated between two brooks, with one of the higheſt hills of the iſland behind it. It is the reſidence of Mr. *Mackinnon*, by whom we were treated with very liberal hoſpitality, among a more numerous and elegant company than it could have been ſuppoſed eaſy to collect.

The hill behind the houſe we did not climb. The weather was rough, and the height and ſteepneſs diſcouraged us. We were told that there is a cairne upon it. A cairne is a heap of ſtones thrown upon the grave of one eminent for dignity of birth, or ſplendour of atchievements. It is ſaid, that by digging, an urn is always found under theſe cairnes: they muſt therefore have been thus piled by a people whoſe cuſtom was to burn the dead. To pile ſtones is, I believe, a northern cuſtom, and to burn the body was the *Roman* practice; nor do I know when it was that theſe two acts of ſepulture were united.

The weather was next day too violent for the continuation of our journey; but we had no reaſon to complain of the interruption. We ſaw in every place, what we chiefly deſired to know, the manners of the people. We had company, and if

we had chosen retirement, we might have had books.

I never was in any house of the islands, where I did not find books in more languages than one, if I staid long enough to want them, except one from which the family was removed. Literature is not neglected by the higher rank of the *Hebridians*.

It need not, I suppose, be mentioned, that in countries so little frequented as the islands, there are no houses where travellers are entertained for money. He that wanders about these wilds, either procures recommendations to those whose habitations lie near his way, or, when night and weariness come upon him, takes the chance of general hospitality. If he finds only a cottage, he can expect little more than shelter; for the cottagers have little more for themselves: but if his good fortune brings him to the residence of a gentleman, he will be glad of a storm to prolong his stay. There is, however, one inn by the sea side at *Sconsor*, in *Sky*, where the post office is kept.

At the tables where a stranger is received, neither plenty nor delicacy is wanting. A tract of land so thinly inhabited, must have much wild-fowl; and I scarcely remember to have seen a dinner without them. The moorgame is every where to be had. That the sea abounds with fish, needs not be told, for it supplies a great part of *Europe*. The isle of *Sky* has stags and roebucks, but no hares. They sell very numerous droves of oxen yearly to *England*, and therefore cannot be supposed to want beef at home. Sheep and goats are in great numbers, and they have the common domestick fowls.

But as here is nothing to be bought, every family muſt kill its own meat, and roaſt part of it ſomewhat ſooner than *Apicius* would preſcribe. Every kind of fleſh is undoubtedly excelled by the variety and emulation of *Engliſh* markets; but that which is not beſt may be yet very far from bad, and he that ſhall complain of his fare in the *Hebrides*, has improved his delicacy more than his manhood.

Their fowls are not like thoſe plumped for ſale by the poulterers of *London*, but they are as good as other places commonly afford, except that the geeſe, by feeding in the ſea, have univerſally a fiſhy rankneſs.

Theſe geeſe ſeem to be of a middle race, between the wild and domeſtick kinds. They are ſo tame as to own a home, and ſo wild as ſometimes to fly quite away.

Their native bread is made of oats, or barley. Of oatmeal they ſpread very thin cakes, coarſe and hard, to which unaccuſtomed palates are not eaſily reconciled. The barley cakes are thicker and ſofter; I began to eat them without unwillingneſs; the blackneſs of their colour raiſes ſome diſlike, but the taſte is not diſagreeable. In moſt houſes there is wheat-flour, with which we were ſure to be treated, if we ſtaid long enough to have it kneaded and baked. As neither yeaſt nor leaven are uſed among them, their bread of every kind is unfermented. They make only cakes, and never mould a loaf.

A man of the *Hebrides*, for of the women's diet I can give no account, as ſoon as he appears in the morning, ſwallows a glaſs of whiſky; yet they are

not

not a drunken race, at leaſt I never was preſent at much intemperance; but no man is ſo abſtemious as to refuſe the morning dram, which they call a *ſkalk*.

The word *whiſky* ſignifies water, and is applied by way of eminence to *ſtrong water*, or diſtilled liquor. The ſpirit drunk in the North is drawn from barley. I never taſted it, except once for experiment at the inn in *Inverary*, when I thought it preferable to any *Engliſh* malt brandy. It was ſtrong, but not pungent, and was free from the empyreumatick taſte or ſmell. What was the proceſs I had no opportunity of enquiring, nor do I wiſh to improve the art of making poiſon pleaſant.

Not long after the dram, may be expected the breakfaſt, a meal in which the *Scots*, whether of the lowlands or mountains, muſt be confeſſed to excel us. The tea and coffee are accompanied not only with butter, but with honey, conſerves, and marmalades. If an epicure could remove by a wiſh, in queſt of ſenſual gratifications, wherever he had ſupped he would breakfaſt in *Scotland*.

In the iſlands, however, they do what I found it not very eaſy to endure. They pollute the tea-table by plates piled with large ſlices of Cheſhire cheeſe, which mingles its leſs grateful odours with the fragrance of the tea.

Where many queſtions are to be aſked, ſome will be omitted. I forgot to enquire how they were ſupplied with ſo much exotick luxury. Perhaps the *French* may bring them wine for wool, and the *Dutch* give them tea and coffee at the fiſhing ſeaſon, in exchange for freſh proviſion. Their trade is unconſtrained; they pay no cuſtoms; for there is no offi-

cer to demand them; whatever therefore is made dear only by impoſt, is obtained here at an eaſy rate.

A dinner in the Weſtern Iſlands differs very little from a dinner in *England*, except that in the place of tarts, there are always ſet different preparations of milk. This part of their diet will admit ſome improvement. Though they have milk, and eggs, and ſugar, few of them know how to compound them in a cuſtard. Their gardens afford them no great variety, but they have always ſome vegetables on the table. Potatoes at leaſt are never wanting, which, though they have not known them long, are now one of the principal parts of their food. They are not of the mealy, but the viſcous kind.

Their more elaborate cookery, or made diſhes, an *Engliſhman*, at the firſt taſte, is not likely to approve, but the culinary compoſitions of every country are often ſuch as become grateful to other nations only by degrees; though I have read a *French* author, who, in the elation of his heart, ſays, that *French* cookery pleaſes all foreigners, but foreign cookery never ſatisfies a *Frenchman*.

Their ſuppers are like their dinners, various, and plentiful. The table is always covered with elegant linen. Their plates for common uſe are often of that kind of manufacture which is called cream coloured, or queen's ware. They uſe ſilver on all occaſions where it is common in *England*, nor did I ever find a ſpoon of horn but in one houſe.

The knives are not often either very bright, or very ſharp. They are indeed inſtruments of which the *Highlanders* have not been long acquainted with the

the general ufe. They were not regularly laid on the table, before the prohibition of arms, and the change of drefs. Thirty years ago the *Highlander* wore his knife as a companion to his dirk or dagger, and when the company fat down to meat, the men who had knives, cut the flefh into fmall pieces for the women, who with their fingers conveyed it to their mouths.

There was perhaps never any change of national manners fo quick, fo great, and fo general, as that which has operated in the *Highlands*, by the laft conqueft, and the fubfequent laws. We came thither too late to fee what we expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a fyftem of antiquated life. The clans retain little now of their original character; their ferocity of temper is foftened, their military ardour is extinguifhed, their dignity of independence is depreffed, their contempt of government fubdued, and their reverence for their chiefs abated. Of what they had before the late conqueft of their country, there remain only their language and their poverty. Their language is attacked on every fide. Schools are erected, in which *Englifh* only is taught, and there were lately fome who thought it reafonable to refufe them a verfion of the holy fcriptures, that they might have no monument of their mother-tongue.

That their poverty is gradually abated, cannot be mentioned among the unpleafing confequences of fubjection. They are now acquainted with money, and the poffibility of gain will by degrees make them induftrious. Such is the effect of the late regulations, that a longer journey than to the *High-*

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*lands* muſt be taken by him whoſe curioſity pants for ſavage virtues and barbarous grandeur.

## RAASAY.

At the firſt intermiſſion of the ſtormy weather we were informed, that the boat, which was to convey us to *Raaſay*, attended us on the coaſt. We had from this time our intelligence facilitated, and our converſation enlarged, by the company of Mr. *Macqueen*, miniſter of a pariſh in *Sky*, whoſe knowledge and politeneſs give him a title equally to kindneſs and reſpect, and who, from this time, never forſook us till we were preparing to leave *Sky*, and the adjacent places.

The boat was under the direction of Mr. *Malcolm Macleod*, a gentleman of *Raaſay*. The water was calm, and the rowers were vigorous; ſo that our paſſage was quick and pleaſant. When we came near the iſland, we ſaw the laird's houſe, a neat modern fabrick, and found Mr. *Macleod*, the proprietor of the iſland, with many gentlemen, expecting us on the beach. We had, as at all other places, ſome difficulty in landing. The crags were irregularly broken, and a falſe ſtep would have been very miſchievous.

It ſeemed that the rocks might, with no great labour, have been hewn almoſt into a regular flight of ſteps; and as there are no other landing places, I conſidered this rugged aſcent as the conſequence of a form of life inured to hardſhips, and therefore not ſtudious of nice accommodations. But I know not whether, for many ages, it was not conſidered as a part of military policy, to keep the country not eaſily acceſſible.

accessible. The rocks are natural fortifications, and an enemy climbing with difficulty was easily destroyed by those who stood high above him.

Our reception exceeded our expectations. We found nothing but civility, elegance, and plenty. After the usual refreshments, and the usual conversation, the evening came upon us. The carpet was then rolled off the floor; the musician was called, and the whole company was invited to dance, nor did ever fairies trip with greater alacrity. The general air of festivity, which predominated in this place, so far remote from all those regions which the mind has been used to contemplate as the mansions of pleasure, struck the imagination with a delightful surprise, analogous to that which is felt at an unexpected emersion from darkness into light.

When it was time to sup, the dance ceased, and six and thirty persons sat down to two tables in the same room. After supper the ladies sung *Erse* songs, to which I listened as an *English* audience to an *Italian* opera, delighted with the sound of words which I did not understand.

I inquired the subjects of the songs, and was told of one, that it was a love song, and of another, that it was a farewell composed by one of the islanders that was going, in this epidemical fury of emigration, to seek his fortune in *America*. What sentiments would rise, on such an occasion, in the heart of one who had not been taught to lament by precedent, I should gladly have known; but the lady, by whom I sat, thought herself not equal to the work of translating.

Mr. *Macleod* is the proprietor of the iſlands of *Raaſay*, *Rona*, and *Fladda*, and poſſeſſes an extenſive diſtrict in *Sky*. The eſtate has not, during four hundred years, gained or loſt a ſingle acre.

One of the old *Highland* alliances has continued for two hundred years, and is ſtill ſubſiſting between *Macleod* of *Raaſay*, and *Macdonald* of *Sky*, in conſequence of which, the ſurvivor always inherits the arms of the deceaſed; a natural memorial of military friendſhip. At the death of the late Sir *James Macdonald*, his ſword was delivered to the preſent laird of *Raaſay*.

The family of *Raaſay* conſiſts of the laird, the lady, three ſons, and ten daughters. For the ſons there is a tutor in the houſe, and the lady is ſaid to be very ſkilful and diligent in the education of her girls. More gentleneſs of manners, or a more pleaſing appearance of domeſtick ſociety, is not found in the moſt poliſhed countries.

*Raaſay* is the only inhabited iſland in Mr. *Macleod*'s poſſeſſion. *Rona* and *Fladda* afford only paſture for cattle, of which one hundred and ſixty winter in *Rona*, under the ſuperintendence of a ſolitary herdſman.

The length of *Raaſay* is, by computation, fifteen miles, and the breadth two. Theſe countries have never been meaſured, and the computation by miles is negligent and arbitrary. We obſerved in travelling, that the nominal and real diſtance of places had very little relation to each other. *Raaſay* probably contains near a hundred ſquare miles. It affords not much ground, notwithſtanding its extent, either for tillage or paſture; for it is rough, rocky, and barren.

The

The cattle often perish by falling from the precipices. It is like the other islands, I think, generally naked of shade, but it is naked by neglect; for the laird has an orchard, and very large forest trees grow about his house. Like other hilly countries it has many rivulets. One of the brooks turns a corn-mill, and at least one produces trouts.

In the streams or fresh lakes of the islands, I have never heard of any other fish than trouts and eels. The trouts which I have seen, are not large; the colour of their flesh is tinged as in *England*. Of their eels I can give no account, having never tasted them; for I believe they are not considered as wholesome food.

It is not very easy to fix the principles upon which mankind have agreed to eat some animals, and reject others; and as the principle is not evident, it is not uniform. That which is selected as delicate in one country, is by its neighbours abhorred as loathsome. The *Neapolitans* lately refused to eat potatoes in a famine. An *Englishman* is not easily persuaded to dine on snails with an *Italian*, on frogs with a *Frenchman*, or on horse-flesh with a *Tartar*. The vulgar inhabitants of *Sky*, I know not whether of the other islands, have not only eels, but pork and bacon in abhorrence, and accordingly I never saw a hog in the *Hebrides*, except one at *Dunvegan*.

*Raasay* has wild fowl in abundance, but neither deer, hares, nor rabbits. Why it has them not, might be asked, but that of such questions there is no end.

Why

Why does any nation want what it might have? Why are not ſpices tranſplanted to *America?* Why does tea continue to be brought from *China?* Life improves but by ſlow degrees, and much in every place is yet to do. Attempts have been made to raiſe roebucks in *Raaſay*, but without effect. The young ones it is extremely difficult to rear, and the old can very ſeldom be taken alive.

Hares and rabbits might be more eaſily obtained. That they have few or none of either in *Sky*, they impute to the ravage of the foxes, and have therefore ſet, for ſome years paſt, a price upon their heads, which, as the number was diminiſhed, has been gradually raiſed, from three ſhillings and ſixpence to a guinea, a ſum ſo great in this part of the world, that in a ſhort time *Sky* may be as free from foxes, as *England* from wolves. The fund for theſe rewards is a tax of ſixpence in the pound, impoſed by the farmers on themſelves, and ſaid to be paid with great willingneſs.

The beaſts of prey in the iſlands are foxes, otters, and weaſels. The foxes are bigger than thoſe of *England*; but the otters exceed ours in a far greater proportion. I ſaw one at *Armidel*, of a ſize much beyond that which I ſuppoſed them ever to attain; and Mr. *Maclean*, the heir of *Col*, a man of middle ſtature, informed me that he once ſhot an otter, of which the tail reached the ground, when he held up the head to a level with his own. I expected the otter to have a foot particularly formed for the art of ſwimming; but, upon examination, I did not find it differing much from that of a ſpaniel. As

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he preys in the ſea, he does little viſible miſchief, and is killed only for his fur. White otters are ſometimes ſeen.

In *Raaſay* they might have hares and rabbits, for they have no foxes. Some depredations, ſuch as were never made before, have cauſed a ſuſpicion that a fox has been lately landed in the iſland by ſpite or wantonneſs. This imaginary ſtranger has never yet been ſeen, and therefore, perhaps, the miſchief was done by ſome other animal. It is not likely that a creature ſo ungentle, whoſe head could have been ſold in *Sky* for a guinea, ſhould be kept alive only to gratify the malice of ſending him to prey upon a neighbour: and the paſſage from *Sky* is wider than a fox would venture to ſwim, unleſs he were chaſed by dogs into the ſea, and perhaps then his ſtrength would enable him to croſs. How beaſts of prey came into any iſlands is not eaſy to gueſs. In cold countries they take advantage of hard winters, and travel over the ice; but this is a very ſcanty ſolution; for they are found where they have no diſcoverable means of coming.

The corn of this iſland is but little. I ſaw the harveſt of a ſmall field. The women reaped the corn, and the men bound up the ſheaves. The ſtrokes of the ſickle were timed by the modulation of the harveſt ſong, in which all their voices were united. They accompany in the *Highlands* every action, which can be done in equal time, with an appropriated ſtrain, which has, they ſay, not much meaning; but its effects are regularity and cheerfulneſs. The ancient proceleuſmatick ſong, by which the rowers of gallies were animated, may be

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed to have been of this kind. There is now an *oar-ſong* uſed by the *Hebridians*.

The ground of *Raaſay* ſeems fitter for cattle than for corn, and of black cattle I ſuppoſe the number is very great. The laird himſelf keeps a herd of four hundred, one hundred of which are annually ſold. Of an extenſive domain, which he holds in his own hands, he conſiders the ſale of cattle as repaying him the rent, and ſupports the plenty of a very liberal table with the remaining product.

*Raaſay* is ſuppoſed to have been very long inhabited. On one ſide of it they ſhow caves, into which the rude nations of the firſt ages retreated from the weather. Theſe dreary vaults might have had other uſes. There is ſtill a cavity near the houſe called the *oar-cave*, in which the ſeamen, after one of thoſe piratical expeditions, which in rougher times was very frequent, uſed, as tradition tells, to hide their oars. This hollow was near the ſea, that nothing ſo neceſſary might be far to be fetched; and it was ſecret, that enemies, if they landed, could find nothing. Yet it is not very evident of what uſe it was to hide their oars from thoſe, who, if they were maſters of the coaſt, could take away their boats.

A proof much ſtronger of the diſtance at which the firſt poſſeſſors of this iſland lived from the preſent time, is afforded by the ſtone heads of arrows which are very frequently picked up. The people call them *elf bolts*, and believe that the fairies ſhoot them at the cattle. They nearly reſemble thoſe which Mr. *Banks* has lately brought from the ſavage countries in the *Pacifick* Ocean, and muſt have been made by a nation to which the uſe of metals was unknown.

The

The number of this little community has never been counted by its ruler, nor have I obtained any positive account, consistent with the result of political computation. Not many years ago, the late laird led out one hundred men upon a military expedition. The sixth part of a people is supposed capable of bearing arms: *Raasay* had therefore six hundred inhabitants. But because it is not likely, that every man able to serve in the field would follow the summons, or that the chief would leave his lands totally defenceless, or take away all the hands qualified for labour, let it be supposed, that half as many might be permitted to stay at home. The whole number will then be nine hundred, or nine to a square mile; a degree of populousness greater than those tracts of desolation can often show. They are content with their country, and faithful to their chiefs, and yet uninfected with the fever of migration.

Near the house at *Raasay* is a chapel unroofed and ruinous, which has long been used only as a place of burial. About the churches in the islands, are small squares enclosed with stone, which belong to particular families, as repositories for the dead. At *Raasay* there is one, I think for the proprietor, and one for some collateral house.

It is told by *Martin*, that at the death of the lady of the island, it has been here the custom to erect a cross. This we found not to be true. The stones that stand about the chapel at a small distance, some of which perhaps have crosses cut upon them, are believed to have been not funeral monuments, but

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the ancient boundaries of the ſanctuary or conſecrated ground.

*Martin* was a man not illiterate: he was an inhabitant of *Sky*, and therefore was within reach of intelligence, and with no great difficulty might have viſited the places which he undertakes to deſcribe; yet with all his opportunities, he has often ſuffered himſelf to be deceived. He lived in the laſt century, when the chiefs of the clans had loſt little of their original influence. The mountains were yet unpenetrated, no inlet was opened to foreign novelties, and the feudal inſtitutions operated upon life with their full force. He might therefore have diſplayed a ſeries of ſubordination and a form of government, which, in more luminous and improved regions, have been long forgotten, and have delighted his readers with many uncouth cuſtoms that are now diſuſed, and wild opinions that prevail no longer. But he probably had not knowledge of the world ſufficient to qualify him for judging what would deſerve or gain the attention of mankind. The mode of life which was familiar to himſelf, he did not ſuppoſe unknown to others, nor imagined that he could give pleaſure by telling that of which it was, in his little country, impoſſible to be ignorant.

What he has neglected cannot now be performed. In nations, where there is hardly the uſe of letters, what is once out of ſight is loſt for ever. They think but little, and of their few thoughts, none are waſted on the paſt, in which they are neither intereſted by fear nor hope. Their only regiſters are

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ſtated obſervances and practical repreſentations. For this reaſon an age of ignorance is an age of ceremony. Pageants, and proceſſions, and commemorations, gradually ſhrink away, as better methods come into uſe of recording events, and preſerving rights.

It is not only in *Raaſay* that the chapel is unroofed and uſeleſs; through the few iſlands which we viſited we neither ſaw nor heard of any houſe of prayer, except in *Sky*, that was not in ruins. The malignant influence of *Calviniſm* has blaſted ceremony and decency together; and if the remembrance of papal ſuperſtition is obliterated, the monuments of papal piety are likewiſe effaced.

It has been, for many years, popular to talk of the lazy devotion of the *Romiſh* clergy; over the ſleepy lazineſs of men that erected churches, we may indulge our ſuperiority with a new triumph, by comparing it with the fervid activity of thoſe who ſuffer them to fall.

Of the deſtruction of churches, the decay of religion muſt in time be the conſequence; for while the publick acts of the miniſtry are now performed in houſes, a very ſmall number can be preſent; and as the greater part of the iſlanders make no uſe of books, all muſt neceſſarily live in total ignorance who want the opportunity of vocal inſtruction.

From theſe remains of ancient ſanctity, which are every where to be found, it has been conjectured, that, for the laſt two centuries, the inhabitants of the iſlands have decreaſed in number. This argument, which ſuppoſes that the churches have been ſuffered to fall, only becauſe they were no longer neceſſary,

ceſſary, would have ſome force, if the houſes of worſhip ſtill remaining were ſufficient for the people. But ſince they have now no churches at all, theſe venerable fragments do not prove the people of former times to have been more numerous, but to have been more devout. If the inhabitants were doubled with their preſent principles, it appears not that any proviſion for publick worſhip would be made. Where the religion of a country enforces conſecrated buildings, the number of thoſe buildings may be ſuppoſed to afford ſome indication, however uncertain, of the populouſneſs of the place; but where by a change of manners a nation is contented to live without them, their decay implies no diminution of inhabitants.

Some of theſe dilapidations are ſaid to be found in iſlands now uninhabited; but I doubt whether we can thence infer that they were ever peopled. The religion of the middle age is well known to have placed too much hope in lonely auſterities. Voluntary ſolitude was the great art of propitiation, by which crimes were effaced, and conſcience was appeaſed; it is therefore not unlikely, that oratories were often built in places where retirement was ſure to have no diſturbance.

*Raaſay* has little that can detain a traveller, except the laird and his family; but their power wants no auxiliaries. Such a ſeat of hoſpitality, amidſt the winds and waters, fills the imagination with a delightful contrariety of images. Without is the rough ocean and the rocky land, the beating billows and the howling ſtorm: within is plenty and elegance, beauty and gaiety, the ſong and the dance.

dance. In *Raasay*, if I could have found an *Ulysses*, I had fancied a *Phæacia*.

## DUNVEGAN.

At *Raasay*, by good fortune, *Macleod*, so the chief of the clan is called, was paying a visit, and by him we were invited to his seat at *Dunvegan*. *Raasay* has a stout boat, built in *Norway*, in which, with six oars, he conveyed us back to *Sky*. We landed at *Port Re*, so called, because *James* the Fifth of *Scotland*, who had curiosity to visit the islands, came into it. The port is made by an inlet of the sea, deep and narrow, where a ship lay waiting to dispeople *Sky*, by carrying the natives away to *America*.

In coasting *Sky*, we passed by the cavern in which it was the custom, as *Martin* relates, to catch birds in the night, by making a fire at the entrance. This practice is disused; for the birds, as is known often to happen, have changed their haunts.

Here we dined at a publick house, I believe the only inn of the island, and having mounted our horses, travelled in the manner already described, till we came to *Kingsborough*, a place distinguished by that name, because the king lodged here when he landed at *Port Re*. We were entertained with the usual hospitality by Mr. *Macdonald* and his lady *Flora Macdonald*, a name that will be mentioned in history, and if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour. She is a woman of middle stature, soft features, gentle manners, and elegant presence.

In the morning we ſent our horſes round a promontory to meet us, and ſpared ourſelves part of the day's fatigue, by croſſing an arm of the ſea. We had at laſt ſome difficulty in coming to *Dunvegan*; for our way led over an extenſive moor, where every ſtep was to be taken with caution, and we were often obliged to alight, becauſe the ground could not be truſted. In travelling this watery flat, I perceived that it had a viſible declivity, and might without much expence or difficulty be drained. But difficulty and expence are relative terms, which have different meanings in different places.

To *Dunvegan* we came, very willing to be at reſt, and found our fatigue amply recompenſed by our reception. Lady *Macleod*, who had lived many years in *England*, was newly come hither with her ſon and four daughters, who knew all the arts of ſouthern elegance, and all the modes of *Engliſh* œconomy. Here therefore we ſettled, and did not ſpoil the preſent hour with thoughts of departure.

*Dunvegan* is a rocky prominence, that juts out into a bay, on the weſt ſide of *Sky*. The houſe, which is the principal ſeat of *Macleod*, is partly old and partly modern; it is built upon the rock, and looks upon the water. It forms two ſides of a ſmall ſquare: on the third ſide is the ſkeleton of a caſtle of unknown antiquity, ſuppoſed to have been a *Norwegian* fortreſs, when the *Danes* were maſters of the iſlands. It is ſo nearly entire, that it might have eaſily been made habitable, were there not an ominous tradition in the family, that the owner ſhall not long outlive the reparation. The grandfather

father of the present laird, in defiance of prediction, began the work, but desisted in a little time, and applied his money to worse uses.

As the inhabitants of the *Hebrides* lived, for many ages, in continual expectation of hostilities, the chief of every clan resided in a fortress. This house was accessible only from the water, till the last possessor opened an entrance by stairs upon the land.

They had formerly reason to be afraid, not only of declared wars and authorized invaders, or of roving pirates, which, in the northern seas, must have been very common; but of inroads and insults from rival clans, who, in the plenitude of feudal independence, asked no leave of their sovereign to make war on one another. *Sky* has been ravaged by a feud between the two mighty powers of *Macdonald* and *Macleod*. *Macdonald* having married a *Macleod*, upon some discontent dismissed her, perhaps because she had brought him no children. Before the reign of *James* the Fifth, a *Highland* laird made a trial of his wife for a certain time, and if she did not please him, he was then at liberty to send her away. This however must always have offended, and *Macleod* resenting the injury, whatever were its circumstances, declared, that the wedding had been solemnized without a bonfire, but that the separation should be better illuminated; and raising a little army, set fire to the territories of *Macdonald*, who returned the visit, and prevailed.

Another story may show the disorderly state of insular neighbourhood. The inhabitants of the isle of *Egg*, meeting a boat manned by *Macleods*, tied

the crew hand and foot, and ſet them a-drift. *Macleod* landed upon *Egg*, and demanded the offenders; but the inhabitants refuſing to ſurrender them, retreated to a cavern, into which they thought their enemies unlikely to follow them. *Macleod* choked them with ſmoke, and left them lying dead by families as they ſtood.

Here the violence of the weather confined us for ſome time, not at all to our diſcontent or inconvenience. We would indeed very willingly have viſited the iſlands, which might be ſeen from the houſe ſcattered in the ſea, and I was particularly deſirous to have viewed *Iſay*; but the ſtorms did not permit us to launch a boat, and we were condemned to liſten in idleneſs to the wind, except when we were better engaged by liſtening to the ladies.

We had here more wind than waves, and ſuffered the ſeverity of a tempeſt, without enjoying its magnificence. The ſea being broken by the multitude of iſlands, does not roar with ſo much noiſe, nor beat the ſtorm with ſuch foamy violence, as I have remarked on the coaſt of *Suſſex*. Though, while I was in the *Hebrides*, the wind was extremely turbulent, I never ſaw very high billows.

The country about *Dunvegan* is rough and barren. There are no trees, except in the orchard, which is a low ſheltered ſpot ſurrounded with a wall.

When this houſe was intended to ſuſtain a ſiege, a well was made in the court, by boring the rock downwards, till water was found, which, though ſo near to the ſea, I have not heard mentioned as brackiſh,

brackiſh, though it has ſome hardneſs, or other qualities, which make it leſs fit for uſe; and the family is now better ſupplied from a ſtream, which runs by the rock, from two pleaſing water-falls.

Here we ſaw ſome traces of former manners, and heard ſome ſtanding traditions. In the houſe is kept an ox's horn, hollowed ſo as to hold perhaps two quarts, which the heir of *Macleod* was expected to ſwallow at one draught, as a teſt of his manhood, before he was permitted to bear arms, or could claim a ſeat among the men. It is held that the return of the laird to *Dunvegan*, after any conſiderable abſence, produces a plentiful capture of herrings; and that, if any woman croſſes the water to the oppoſite iſland, the herrings will deſert the coaſt. *Boetius* tells the ſame of ſome other place. This tradition is not uniform. Some hold that no woman may paſs, and others that none may paſs but a *Macleod*.

Among other gueſts, which the hoſpitality of *Dunvegan* brought to the table, a viſit was paid by the laird and lady of a ſmall iſland ſouth of *Sky*, of which the proper name is *Muack*, which ſignifies ſwine. It is commonly called *Muck*, which the proprietor not liking, has endeavoured, without effect, to change to *Monk*. It is uſual to call gentlemen in *Scotland* by the name of their poſſeſſions, as *Raaſay*, *Bernera*, *Loch Buy*, a practice neceſſary in countries inhabited by clans, where all that live in the ſame territory have one name, and muſt be therefore diſcriminated by ſome addition. This gentleman, whoſe name, I think, is *Maclean*, ſhould be regularly called *Muck*; but the appellation, which he thinks too coarſe for

his iſland, he would like ſtill leſs for himſelf, and he is therefore addreſſed by the title of, *Iſle of Muck*.

This little iſland, however it be named, is of conſiderable value. It is two *Engliſh* miles long, and three quarters of a mile broad, and conſequently contains only nine hundred and ſixty *Engliſh* acres. It is chiefly arable. Half of this little dominion the laird retains in his own hand, and on the other half, live one hundred and ſixty perſons, who pay their rent by exported corn. What rent they pay, we were not told, and could not decently enquire. The proportion of the people to the land is ſuch, as the moſt fertile countries do not commonly maintain.

The laird having all his people under his immediate view, ſeems to be very attentive to their happineſs. The devaſtation of the ſmall-pox, when it viſits places where it comes ſeldom, is well known. He has diſarmed it of its terror at *Muack*, by inoculating eighty of his people. The expence was two ſhillings and ſixpence a head. Many trades they cannot have among them, but upon occaſion, he fetches a ſmith from the iſle of *Egg*, and has a taylor from the main land, ſix times a year. This iſland well deſerved to be ſeen, but the laird's abſence left us no opportunity.

Every inhabited iſland has its appendant and ſubordinate iſlets. *Muck*, however ſmall, has yet others ſmaller about it, one of which has only ground ſufficient to afford paſture for three wethers.

At *Dunvegan* I had taſted lotus, and was in danger of forgetting that I was ever to depart, till Mr.

*Boſwell*

*Boſwell* ſagely reproached me with my ſluggiſhneſs and ſoftneſs. I had no very forcible defence to make; and we agreed to purſue our journey. *Macleod* accompanied us to *Uliniſh*, where we were entertained by the ſheriff of the iſland.

## ULINISH.

Mr. *Macqueen* travelled with us, and directed our attention to all that was worthy of obſervation. With him we went to ſee an ancient building, called a dun or borough. It was a circular incloſure, about forty-two feet in diameter, walled round with looſe ſtones, perhaps to the height of nine feet. The walls are very thick, diminiſhing a little towards the top, and though in theſe countries ſtone is not brought far, muſt have been raiſed with much labour. Within the great circle were ſeveral ſmaller rounds of wall, which formed diſtinct apartments. Its date and its uſe are unknown. Some ſuppoſe it the original ſeat of the chiefs of the *Macleods*. Mr. *Macqueen* thought it a *Daniſh* fort.

The entrance is covered with flat ſtones, and is narrow, becauſe it was neceſſary that the ſtones which lie over it, ſhould reach from one wall to the other; yet, ſtrait as the paſſage is, they ſeem heavier than could have been placed where they now lie, by the naked ſtrength of as many men as might ſtand about them. They were probably raiſed by putting long pieces of wood under them, to which the action of a long line of lifters might be applied. Savages, in all countries, have patience proportionate to their unſkilfulneſs, and are content to attain their end by very tedious methods.

If it was ever roofed, it might once have been a dwelling, but as there is no provifion for water, it could not have been a fortrefs. In *Sky*, as in every other place, there is an ambition of exalting whatever has furvived memory, to fome important ufe, and referring it to very remote ages. I am inclined to fufpect, that in lawlefs times, when the inhabitants of every mountain ftole the cattle of their neighbour, thefe enclofures were ufed to fecure the herds and flocks in the night. When they were driven within the wall, they might be eafily watched, and defended as long as could be needful; for the robbers durft not wait till the injured clan fhould find them in the morning.

The interior enclofures, if the whole building were once a houfe, were the chambers of the chief inhabitants. If it was a place of fecurity for cattle, they were probably the fhelters of the keepers.

From the *Dun* we were conducted to another place of fecurity, a cave carried a great way under ground, which had been difcovered by digging after a fox. Thefe caves, of which many have been found, and many probably remain concealed, are formed, I believe, commonly by taking advantage of a hollow, where banks or rocks rife on either fide. If no fuch place can be found, the ground muft be cut away. The walls are made by piling ftones againft the earth, on either fide. It is then roofed by large ftones laid acrofs the cavern, which therefore cannot be wide. Over the roof, turfs were placed, and grafs was fuffered to grow; and the mouth was concealed by bufhes, or fome other cover.

These caves were represented to us as the cabins of the first rude inhabitants, of which, however, I am by no means persuaded. This was so low, that no man could stand upright in it. By their construction they are all so narrow, that two can never pass along them together, and being subterraneous, they must be always damp. They are not the work of an age much ruder than the present; for they are formed with as much art as the construction of a common hut requires. I imagine them to have been places only of occasional use, in which the islander, upon a sudden alarm, hid his utensils, or his clothes, and perhaps sometimes his wife and children.

This cave we entered, but could not proceed the whole length, and went away without knowing how far it was carried. For this omission we shall be blamed, as we perhaps have blamed other travellers; but the day was rainy, and the ground was damp. We had with us neither spades nor pickaxes, and if love of ease surmounted our desire of knowledge, the offence has not the invidiousness of singularity.

Edifices, either standing or ruined, are the chief records of an illiterate nation. In some part of this journey, at no great distance from our way, stood a shattered fortress, of which the learned minister, to whose communication we are much indebted, gave us an account.

Those, said he, are the walls of a place of refuge, built in the time of *James* the Sixth, by *Hugh Macdonald*, who was next heir to the dignity and fortune of his chief. *Hugh*, being so near his wish, was

impatient of delay; and had art and influence ſufficient to engage ſeveral gentlemen in a plot againſt the laird's life. Something muſt be ſtipulated on both ſides; for they would not dip their hands in blood merely for *Hugh*'s advancement. The compact was formally written, ſigned by the conſpirators, and placed in the hands of one *Macleod*.

It happened that *Macleod* had ſold ſome cattle to a drover, who not having ready money, gave him a bond for payment. The debt was diſcharged, and the bond re-demanded; which *Macleod*, who could not read, intending to put into his hands, gave him the conſpiracy. The drover, when he had read the paper, delivered it privately to *Macdonald*, who being thus informed of his danger, called his friends together, and provided for his ſafety. He made a publick feaſt, and inviting *Hugh Macdonald* and his confederates, placed each of them at the table between two men of known fidelity. The compact of conſpiracy was then ſhewn, and every man confronted with his own name. *Macdonald* acted with great moderation. He upbraided *Hugh* both with diſloyalty and ingratitude; but told the reſt, that he conſidered them as men deluded and miſinformed. *Hugh* was ſworn to fidelity, and diſmiſſed with his companions; but he was not generous enough to be reclaimed by lenity; and finding no longer any countenance among the gentlemen, endeavoured to execute the ſame deſign by meaner hands. In this practice he was detected, taken to *Macdonald*'s caſtle, and impriſoned in the dungeon. When he was hungry, they let down a plentiful meal of ſalted meat; and when, after his repaſt, he called for drink, conveyed to him a covered

covered cup, which, when he lifted the lid, he found empty. From that time they viſited him no more, but left him to periſh in ſolitude and darkneſs.

We were then told of a cavern by the ſea-ſide, remarkable for the powerful reverberation of ſounds. After dinner we took a boat, to explore this curious cavity. The boatmen, who ſeemed to be of a rank above that of common drudges, enquired who the ſtrangers were, and being told we came one from *Scotland*, and the other from *England*, aſked if the *Engliſhman* could recount a long genealogy. What anſwer was given them, the converſation being in *Erſe*, I was not much inclined to examine.

They expected no good event of the voyage; for one of them declared that he heard the cry of an *Engliſh* ghoſt. This omen I was not told till after our return, and therefore cannot claim the dignity of deſpiſing it.

The ſea was ſmooth. We never left the ſhore, and came without any diſaſter to the cavern, which we found rugged and misſhapen, about one hundred and eighty feet long, thirty wide in the broadeſt part, and in the loftieſt, as we gueſſed, about thirty high. It was now dry, but at high water the ſea riſes in it near ſix feet. Here I ſaw what I had never ſeen before, limpets and muſcles in their natural ſtate. But, as a new teſtimony to the veracity of common fame, here was no echo to be heard.

We then walked through a natural arch in the rock, which might have pleaſed us by its novelty, had the ſtones, which encumbered our feet, given us leiſure to conſider it. We were ſhown the gummy

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ſeed of the kelp, that faſtens itſelf to a ſtone, from which it grows into a ſtrong ſtalk.

In our return, we found a little boy upon the point of a rock, catching with his angle a ſupper for the family. We rowed up to him, and borrowed his rod, with which Mr. *Boſwell* caught a cuddy.

The cuddy is a fiſh of which I know not the philoſophical name. It is not much bigger than a gudgeon, but is of great uſe in theſe iſlands, as it affords the lower people both food and oil for their lamps. Cuddies are ſo abundant, at ſome times of the year, that they are caught like white bait in the *Thames*, only by dipping a baſket and drawing it back.

If it were always practicable to fiſh, theſe iſlands could never be in much danger from famine; but unhappily, in the winter, when other proviſion fails, the ſeas are commonly too rough for nets, or boats.

## TALISKER IN SKY.

From *Uliniſh* our next ſtage was to *Taliſker*, the houſe of colonel *Macleod*, an officer in the *Dutch* ſervice, who in this time of univerſal peace, has for ſeveral years been permitted to be abſent from his regiment. Having been bred to phyſick, he is conſequently a ſcholar, and his lady, by accompanying him in his different places of reſidence, is become ſkilful in ſeveral languages. *Taliſker* is the place beyond all that I have ſeen, from which the gay and the jovial ſeem utterly excluded; and where the hermit might expect to grow old in meditation, without

without poſſibility of diſturbance or interruption. It is ſituated very near the ſea, but upon a coaſt where no veſſel lands but when it is driven by a tempeſt on the rocks. Towards the land are lofty hills ſtreaming with water-falls. The garden is ſheltered by firs, or pines, which grow there ſo proſperouſly, that ſome, which the preſent inhabitant planted, are very high and thick.

At this place we very happily met with Mr. *Donald Maclean*, a young gentleman, the eldeſt ſon of the laird of *Col*, heir to a very great extent of land, and ſo deſirous of improving his inheritance, that he ſpent a conſiderable time among the farmers of *Hertfordſhire* and *Hampſhire*, to learn their practice. He worked with his own hands at the principal operations of agriculture, that he might not deceive himſelf by a falſe opinion of ſkill, which if he ſhould find it deficient at home, he had no means of completing. If the world has agreed to praiſe the travels and manual labours of the czar of *Muſcovy*, let *Col* have his ſhare of the like applauſe, in the proportion of his dominions to the empire of *Ruſſia*.

This young gentleman was ſporting in the mountains of *Sky*, and when he was weary with following his game, repaired for lodging to *Taliſker*. At night he miſſed one of his dogs, and when he went to ſeek him in the morning, found two eagles feeding on his carcaſe.

*Col*, for he muſt be named by his poſſeſſions, hearing that our intention was to viſit *Jona*, offered to conduct us to his chief, Sir *Allan Maclean*, who lived in the iſle of *Inch Kenneth*, and would readily find

us a convenient paſſage. From this time was formed an acquaintance, which being begun by kindneſs, was accidentally continued by conſtraint; we derived much pleaſure from it, and I hope have given him no reaſon to repent it.

The weather was now almoſt one continued ſtorm, and we were to ſnatch ſome happy intermiſſion to be conveyed to *Mull*, the third iſland of the *Hebrides*, lying about a degree ſouth of *Sky*, whence we might eaſily find our way to *Inch Kenneth*, where Sir *Allan Maclean* reſided, and afterward to *Jona*.

For this purpoſe, the moſt commodious ſtation that we could take was *Armidel*, which Sir *Alexander Macdonald* had now left to a gentleman who lived there as his factor or ſteward.

In our way to *Armidel* was *Coriatachan*, were we had already been, and to which therefore we were very willing to return. We ſtaid however ſo long at *Taliſker*, that a great part of our journey was performed in the gloom of the evening. In travelling even thus almoſt without light through naked ſolitude, when there is a guide whoſe conduct may be truſted, a mind not naturally too much diſpoſed to fear, may preſerve ſome degree of cheerfulneſs; but what muſt be the ſolicitude of him who ſhould be wandering, among the crags and hollows, benighted, ignorant, and alone?

The fictions of the *Gothick* romances were not ſo remote from credibility as they are now thought. In the full prevalence of the feudal inſtitution, when violence deſolated the world, and every baron lived in a fortreſs, foreſts and caſtles were regularly ſucceeded by each other, and the adventurer might very ſuddenly

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denly paſs from the gloom of woods, or the ruggedneſs of moors, to ſeats of plenty, gaiety, and magnificence. Whatever is imaged in the wildeſt tale, if giants, dragons, and enchantment be excepted, would be felt by him, who, wandering in the mountains without a guide, or upon the ſea without a pilot, ſhould be carried amidſt his terror and uncertainty, to the hoſpitality and elegance of *Raaſay* or *Dunvegan*.

To *Coriatachan* at laſt we came, and found ourſelves welcomed as before. Here we ſtaid two days, and made ſuch enquiries as curioſity ſuggeſted. The houſe was filled with company, among whom Mr. *Macpherſon* and his ſiſter diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their politeneſs and accompliſhments. By him we were invited to *Oſtig*, a houſe not far from *Armidel*, where we might eaſily hear of a boat, when the weather would ſuffer us to leave the iſland.

## OSTIG IN SKY.

At *Oſtig*, of which Mr. *Macpherſon* is miniſter, we were entertained for ſome days, then removed to *Armidel*, where we finiſhed our obſervations on the iſland of *Sky*.

As this iſland lies in the fifty-ſeventh degree, the air cannot be ſuppoſed to have much warmth. The long continuance of the ſun above the horizon, does indeed ſometimes produce great heat in northern latitudes; but this can only happen in ſheltered places, where the atmoſphere is to a certain degree ſtagnant, and the ſame maſs of air continues to receive for many hours the rays of the ſun, and the vapours of the earth. *Sky* lies open on the weſt and north to a

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vaſt extent of ocean, and is cooled in the ſummer by a perpetual ventilation, but by the ſame blaſts is kept warm in winter. Their weather is not pleaſing. Half the year is deluged with rain. From the autumnal to the vernal equinox, a dry day is hardly known, except when the ſhowers are ſuſpended by a tempeſt. Under ſuch ſkies can be expected no great exuberance of vegetation. Their winter overtakes their ſummer, and their harveſt lies upon the ground drenched with rain. The autumn ſtruggles hard to produce ſome of our early fruits. I gathered gooſeberries in *September*; but they were ſmall, and the huſk was thick.

The winter is ſeldom ſuch as puts a full ſtop to the growth of plants, or reduces the cattle to live wholly on the ſurpluſage of the ſummer. In the year ſeventy-one they had a ſevere ſeaſon, remembered by the name of the Black Spring, from which the iſland has not yet recovered. The ſnow lay long upon the ground, a calamity hardly known before. Part of their cattle died for want, part were unſeaſonably ſold to buy ſuſtenance for the owners; and, what I have not read or heard of before, the kine that ſurvived were ſo emaciated and diſpirited, that they did not require the male at the uſual time. Many of the roebucks periſhed.

The ſoil, as in other countries, has its diverſities. In ſome parts there is only a thin layer of earth ſpread upon a rock, which bears nothing but ſhort brown heath, and perhaps is not generally capable of any better product. There are many bogs or moſſes of greater or leſs extent, where the ſoil cannot be ſuppoſed to want depth, though it is too wet for the

plough.

plough. But we did not obſerve in theſe any aquatick plants. The vallies and the mountains are alike darkened with heath. Some graſs, however, grows here and there, and ſome happier ſpots of earth are capable of tillage.

Their agriculture is laborious, and perhaps rather feeble than unſkilful. Their chief manure is ſea-weed, which, when they lay it to rot upon the field, gives them a better crop than thoſe of the *Highlands*. They heap ſea-ſhells upon the dunghill, which in time moulder into a fertiliſing ſubſtance. When they find a vein of earth where they cannot uſe it, they dig it up, and add it to the mould of a more commodious place.

Their corn grounds often lie in ſuch intricacies among the crags, that there is no room for the action of a team and plough. The ſoil is then turned up by manual labour, with an inſtrument called a crooked ſpade, of a form and weight which to me appeared very incommodious, and would perhaps be ſoon improved in a country where workmen could be eaſily found and eaſily paid. It has a narrow blade of iron fixed to a long and heavy piece of wood, which muſt have, about a foot and a half above the iron, a knee or flexure with the angle downwards. When the farmer encounters a ſtone, which is the great impediment of his operations, he drives the blade under it, and bringing the knee or angle to the ground, has in the long handle a very forcible lever.

According to the different mode of tillage, farms are diſtinguiſhed into *long land* and *ſhort land*. Long

land is that which affords room for a plough, and ſhort land is turned up by the ſpade.

The grain which they commit to the furrows thus tediouſly formed, is either oats or barley. They do not ſow barley without very copious manure, and then they expect from it ten for one, an increaſe equal to that of better countries; but the culture is ſo operoſe that they content themſelves commonly with oats; and who can relate without compaſſion, that after all their diligence they are to expect only a triple increaſe? It is in vain to hope for plenty, when a third part of the harveſt muſt be reſerved for ſeed.

When their grain is arrived at the ſtate which they muſt conſider as ripeneſs, they do not cut, but pull the barley: to the oats they apply the ſickle. Wheel carriages they have none, but make a frame of timber, which is drawn by one horſe with the two points behind preſſing on the ground. On this they ſometimes drag home their ſheaves, but often convey them home in a kind of open panier, or frame of ſticks upon the horſe's back.

Of that which is obtained with ſo much difficulty, nothing ſurely ought to be waſted; yet their method of clearing their oats from the huſk is by parching them in the ſtraw. Thus with the genuine improvidence of ſavages, they deſtroy that fodder for want of which their cattle may periſh. From this practice they have two petty conveniencies. They dry the grain ſo that it is eaſily reduced to meal, and they eſcape the theft of the threſher. The taſte contracted from the fire by the oats, as by every other ſcorched ſubſtance,

ufe muft long ago have made grateful. The oats that are not parched muft be dried in a kiln.

The barns of *Sky* I never faw. That which *Macleod* of *Raafay* had erected near his houfe was fo contrived, becaufe the harveft is feldom brought home dry, as by perpetual perflation to prevent the mow from heating.

Of their gardens I can judge only from their tables. I did not obferve that the common greens were wanting, and fuppofe, that by choofing an advantageous expofition, they can raife all the more hardy efculent plants. Of vegetable fragrance or beauty they are not yet ftudious. Few vows are made to *Flora* in the *Hebrides*.

They gather a little hay, but the grafs is mown late; and is fo often almoft dry and again very wet, before it is houfed, that it becomes a collection of withered ftalks without tafte or fragrance; it muft be eaten by cattle that have nothing elfe, but by moft *Englifh* farmers would be thrown away.

In the iflands I have not heard that any fubterraneous treafures have been difcovered, though where there are mountains, there are commonly minerals. One of the rocks in *Col* has a black vein, imagined to confift of the ore of lead; but it was never yet opened or effayed. In *Sky* a black mafs was accidentally picked up, and brought into the houfe of the owner of the land, who found himfelf ftrongly inclined to think it a coal, but unhappily it did not burn in the chimney. Common ores would be here of no great value; for what requires to be feparated by fire, muft, if it were found, be carried away in its

mineral ſtate, here being no fewel for the ſmelting-houſe or forge. Perhaps by diligent ſearch in this world of ſtone, ſome valuable ſpecies of marble might be diſcovered. But neither philoſophical curioſity, nor commercial induſtry, have yet fixed their abode here, where the importunity of immediate want, ſupplied but for the day, and craving on the morrow, has left little room for excurſive knowledge, or the pleaſing fancies of diſtant profit.

They have lately found a manufacture conſiderably lucrative. Their rocks abound with kelp, a ſea-plant, of which the aſhes are melted into glaſs. They burn kelp in great quantities, and then ſend it away in ſhips, which come regularly to purchaſe them. This new ſource of riches has raiſed the rents of many maritime farms; but the tenants pay, like all other tenants, the additional rent with great unwillingneſs; becauſe they conſider the profits of the kelp as the mere product of perſonal labour, to which the landlord contributes nothing. However, as any man may be ſaid to give what he gives the power of gaining, he has certainly as much right to profit from the price of kelp as of any thing elſe found or raiſed upon his ground.

This new trade has excited a long and eager litigation between *Macdonald* and *Macleod*, for a ledge of rocks, which, till the value of kelp was known, neither of them deſired the reputation of poſſeſſing.

The cattle of *Sky* are not ſo ſmall as is commonly believed. Since they have ſent their beeves in great numbers to ſouthern marts, they have probably taken more

more care of their breed. At ſtated times the annual growth of cattle is driven to a fair, by a general drover, and with the money, which he returns to the farmer, the rents are paid.

The price regularly expected, is from two to three pounds a head: there was once one ſold for five pounds. They go from the iſlands very lean, and are not offered to the butcher till they have been long fatted in *Engliſh* paſtures.

Of their black cattle ſome are without horns, called by the *Scots humble* cows, as we call a bee an *humble* bee, that wants a ſting. Whether this difference be ſpecifick, or accidental, though we enquired with great diligence, we could not be informed. We are not very ſure that the bull is ever without horns, though we have been told, that ſuch bulls there are. What is produced by putting a horned and unhorned male and female together, no man has ever tried that thought the reſult worthy of obſervation.

Their horſes are, like their cows, of a moderate ſize. I had no difficulty to mount myſelf commodiouſly by the favour of the gentlemen. I heard of very little cows in *Barra*, and very little horſes in *Rum*, where perhaps no care is taken to prevent that diminution of ſize, which muſt always happen, where the greater and the leſs copulate promiſcuouſly, and the young animal is reſtrained from growth by penury of ſuſtenance.

The goat is the general inhabitant of the earth, complying with every difference of climate and of ſoil. The goats of the *Hebrides* are like others: nor did I hear any thing of their ſheep to be particularly remarked.

In the penury of theſe malignant regions, nothing is left that can be converted to food. The goats and the ſheep are milked like the cows. A ſingle meal of a goat is a quart, and of a ſheep a pint. Such at leaſt was the account, which I could extract from thoſe of whom I am not ſure that they ever had inquired.

The milk of goats is much thinner than that of cows, and that of ſheep is much thicker. Sheeps milk is never eaten before it is boiled; as it is thick, it muſt be very liberal of curd, and the people of *St. Kilda* form it into ſmall cheeſes.

The ſtags of the mountains are leſs than thoſe of our parks or foreſts, perhaps not bigger than our fallow deer. Their fleſh has no rankneſs, nor is inferiour in flavour to our common veniſon. The roebuck I neither ſaw nor taſted. Theſe are not countries for a regular chaſe. The deer are not driven with horns and hounds. A ſportſman, with his gun in his hand, watches the animal, and when he has wounded him, traces him by the blood.

They have a race of brinded greyhounds larger and ſtronger than thoſe with which we courſe hares, and thoſe are the only dogs uſed by them for the chaſe.

Man is by the uſe of fire-arms made ſo much an overmatch for other animals, that in all countries, where they are in uſe, the wild part of the creation ſenſibly diminiſhes. There will probably not be long either ſtags or roebucks in the iſlands. All the beaſts of chaſe would have been loſt long ago in countries well inhabited, had they not been preſerved by laws for the pleaſure of the rich.

There

There are in *Sky* neither rats nor mice, but the weaſel is ſo frequent, that he is heard in houſes rattling behind cheſts or beds, as rats in *England*. They probably owe to his predominance that they have no other vermin; for ſince the great rat took poſſeſſion of this part of the world, ſcarce a ſhip can touch at any port, but ſome of his race are left behind. They have within theſe few years began to infeſt the iſle of *Col*, where being left by ſome trading veſſel, they have increaſed for want of weaſels to oppoſe them.

The inhabitants of *Sky*, and of the other iſlands, which I have ſeen, are commonly of the middle ſtature, with fewer among them very tall or very ſhort, than are ſeen in *England*; or perhaps, as their numbers are ſmall, the chances of any deviation from the common meaſure are neceſſarily few. The talleſt men that I ſaw are among thoſe of higher rank. In regions of barrenneſs and ſcarcity, the human race is hindered in its growth by the ſame cauſes as other animals.

The ladies have as much beauty here as in other places, but bloom and ſoftneſs are not to be expected among the lower claſſes, whoſe faces are expoſed to the rudeneſs of the climate, and whoſe features are ſometimes contracted by want, and ſometimes hardened by the blaſts. Supreme beauty is ſeldom found in cottages or work-ſhops, even where no real hardſhips are ſuffered. To expand the human face to its full perfection, it ſeems neceſſary that the mind ſhould co-operate by placidneſs of content, or conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority.

Their ſtrength is proportionate to their ſize, but they are accuſtomed to run upon rough ground, and therefore can with great agility ſkip over the bog, or clamber the mountain. For a campaign in the waſtes of *America*, ſoldiers better qualified could not have been found. Having little work to do, they are not willing, nor perhaps able, to endure a long continuance of manual labour, and are therefore conſidered as habitually idle.

Having never been ſupplied with thoſe accommodations, which life extenſively diverſified with trades affords, they ſupply their wants by very inſufficient ſhifts, and endure many inconveniencies, which a little attention would eaſily relieve. I have ſeen a horſe carrying home the harveſt on a crate. Under his tail was a ſtick for a crupper, held at the two ends by twiſts of ſtraw. Hemp will grow in their iſlands, and therefore ropes may be had. If they wanted hemp, they might make better cordage of ruſhes, or perhaps of nettles, than of ſtraw.

Their method of life neither ſecures them perpetual health, nor expoſes them to any particular diſeaſes. There are phyſicians in the iſlands, who, I believe, all practiſe chirurgery, and all compound their own medicines.

It is generally ſuppoſed, that life is longer in places where there are few opportunities of luxury; but I found no inſtance here of extraordinary longevity. A cottager grows old over his oaten cakes, like a citizen at a turtle feaſt. He is indeed ſeldom incommoded by corpulence. Poverty preſerves him from ſinking under the burden of himſelf, but

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he eſcapes no other injury of time. Inſtances of long life are often related, which thoſe who hear them are more willing to credit than examine. To be told that any man has attained a hundred years, gives hope and comfort to him who ſtands trembling on the brink of his own climacterick.

Length of life is diſtributed impartially to very different modes of life in very different climates; and the mountains have no greater examples of age and health than the low lands, where I was introduced to two ladies of high quality; one of whom, in her ninety-fourth year, preſided at her table with the full exerciſe of all her powers; and the other has attained her eighty-fourth, without any diminution of her vivacity, and with little reaſon to accuſe time of depredations on her beauty.

In the iſlands, as in moſt other places, the inhabitants are of different rank, and one does not encroach here upon another. Where there is no commerce nor manufacture, he that is born poor can ſcarcely become rich; and if none are able to buy eſtates, he that is born to land cannot annihilate his family by ſelling it. This was once the ſtate of theſe countries. Perhaps there is no example, till within a century and half, of any family whoſe eſtate was alienated otherwiſe than by violence or forfeiture. Since money has been brought amongſt them, they have found, like others, the art of ſpending more than they receive; and I ſaw with grief the chief of a very ancient clan, whoſe iſland was condemned by law to be ſold for the ſatisfaction of his creditors.

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The name of higheſt dignity is Laird, of which there are in the extenſive iſle of *Sky* only three, *Macdonald*, *Macleod*, and *Mackinnon*. The laird is the original owner of the land, whoſe natural power muſt be very great, where no man lives but by agriculture; and where the produce of the land is not conveyed through the labyrinths of traffick, but paſſes directly from the hand that gathers it to the mouth that eats it. The laird has all thoſe in his power that live upon his farms. Kings can, for the moſt part, only exalt or degrade. The laird at pleaſure can feed or ſtarve, can give bread, or withhold it. This inherent power was yet ſtrengthened by the kindneſs of conſanguinity, and the reverence of patriarchal authority. The laird was the father of the clan, and his tenants commonly bore his name. And to theſe principles of original command was added, for many ages, an excluſive right of legal juriſdiction.

This multifarious and extenſive obligation operated with force ſcarcely credible. Every duty, moral or political, was abſorbed in affection and adherence to the chief. Not many years have paſſed ſince the clans knew no law but the laird's will. He told them to whom they ſhould be friends or enemies, what king they ſhould obey, and what religion they ſhould profeſs.

When the *Scots* firſt roſe in arms againſt the ſucceſſion of the houſe of *Hanover*, *Lovat*, the chief of the *Fraſers*, was in exile for a rape. The *Fraſers* were very numerous, and very zealous againſt the government. A pardon was ſent to *Lovat*. He

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came to the *English* camp, and the clan immediately deserted to him.

Next in dignity to the laird is the Tacksman; a large taker or lease-holder of land, of which he keeps part as a domain in his own hand, and lets part to under-tenants. The tacksman is necessarily a man capable of securing to the laird the whole rent, and is commonly a collateral relation. These *tacks*, or subordinate possessions, were long considered as hereditary, and the occupant was distinguished by the name of the place at which he resided. He held a middle station, by which the highest and the lowest orders were connected. He paid rent and reverence to the laird, and received them from the tenants. This tenure still subsists, with its original operation, but not with the primitive stability. Since the islanders, no longer content to live, have learned the desire of growing rich, an ancient dependent is in danger of giving way to a higher bidder, at the expence of domestick dignity and hereditary power. The stranger, whose money buys him preference, considers himself as paying for all that he has, and is indifferent about the laird's honour or safety. The commodiousness of money is indeed great; but there are some advantages which money cannot buy, and which therefore no wise man will by the love of money be tempted to forego.

I have found in the hither parts of *Scotland*, men not defective in judgment or general experience, who consider the tacksman as a useless burden of the ground, as a drone who lives upon the product of an estate, without the right of property, or the merit

merit of labour, and who impoveriſhes at once the landlord and the tenant. The land, ſay they, is let to the tackſman at ſix-pence an acre, and by him to the tenant at ten-pence. Let the owner be the immediate landlord to all the tenants; if he ſets the ground at eight-pence, he will increaſe his revenue by a fourth part, and the tenant's burden will be diminiſhed by a fifth.

Thoſe who purſue this train of reaſoning, ſeem not ſufficiently to enquire whither it will lead them, nor to know that it will equally ſhew the propriety of ſuppreſſing all wholeſale trade, of ſhutting up the ſhops of every man who ſells what he does not make, and of extruding all whoſe agency and profit intervene between the manufacturer and the conſumer. They may, by ſtretching their underſtandings a little wider, comprehend, that all thoſe who, by undertaking large quantities of manufacture, and affording employment to many labourers, make themſelves conſidered as benefactors to the publick, have only been robbing their workmen with one hand, and their cuſtomers with the other. If Crowley had ſold only what he could make, and all his ſmiths had wrought their own iron with their own hammers, he would have lived on leſs, and they would have ſold their work for more. The ſalaries of ſuperintendents and clerks would have been partly ſaved, and partly ſhared, and nails been ſometimes cheaper by a farthing in a hundred. But then if the ſmith could not have found an immediate purchaſer, he muſt have deſerted his anvil; if there had by accident at any time been more ſellers than buyers, the workmen muſt have reduced their profit to nothing,

thing, by underſelling one another; and as no great ſtock could have been in any hand, no ſudden demand of large quantities could have been anſwered, and the builder muſt have ſtood ſtill till the nailer could ſupply him.

According to theſe ſchemes, univerſal plenty is to begin and end in univerſal miſery. Hope and emulation will be utterly extinguiſhed; and as all muſt obey the call of immediate neceſſity, nothing that requires extenſive views, or provides for diſtant conſequences, will ever be performed.

To the ſouthern inhabitants of *Scotland*, the ſtate of the mountains and the iſlands is equally unknown with that of *Borneo* or *Sumatra*: of both they have only heard a little, and gueſs the reſt. They are ſtrangers to the language and the manners, to the advantages and wants of the people, whoſe life they would model, and whoſe evils they would remedy.

Nothing is leſs difficult than to procure one convenience by the forfeiture of another. A ſoldier may expedite his march by throwing away his arms. To baniſh the tackſman is eaſy, to make a country plentiful by diminiſhing the people, is an expeditious mode of huſbandry; but that abundance, which there is nobody to enjoy, contributes little to human happineſs.

As the mind muſt govern the hands, ſo in every ſociety the man of intelligence muſt direct the man of labour. If the tackſmen be taken away, the *Hebrides* muſt in their preſent ſtate be given up to groſſneſs and ignorance; the tenant, for want of inſtruction, will be unſkilful, and for want of admonition, will be negligent. The laird, in theſe wide eſtates, which often

often confift of iflands remote from one another, cannot extend his perfonal influence to all his tenants; and the fteward having no dignity annexed to his character, can have little authority among men taught to pay reverence only to birth, and who regard the tackfman as their hereditary fuperior; nor can the fteward have equal zeal for the profperity of an eftate profitable only to the laird, with the tackfman, who has the laird's income involved in his own.

The only gentlemen in the iflands are the lairds, the tackfmen, and the minifters, who frequently improve their livings by becoming farmers. If the tackfmen be banifhed, who will be left to impart knowledge, or imprefs civility? The laird muft always be at a diftance from the greater part of his lands; and if he refides at all upon them, muft drag his days in folitude, having no longer either a friend or a companion; he will therefore depart to fome more comfortable refidence, and leave the tenants to the wifdom and mercy of a factor.

Of tenants there are different orders, as they have greater or lefs ftock. Land is fometimes leafed to a fmall fellowfhip, who live in a clufter of huts, called a Tenant's Town, and are bound jointly and feparately for the payment of their rent. Thefe, I believe, employ in the care of their cattle and the labour of tillage, a kind of tenants yet lower; who having a hut, with grafs for a certain number of cows and fheep, pay their rent by a ftipulated quantity of labour.

The condition of domeftick fervants, or the price of occafional labour, I do not know with certainty.

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I was told that the maids have ſheep, and are allowed to ſpin for their own clothing; perhaps they have no pecuniary wages, or none but in very wealthy families. The ſtate of life, which has hitherto been purely paſtoral, begins now to be a little variegated with commerce; but novelties enter by degrees, and till one mode has fully prevailed over the other, no ſettled notion can be formed.

Such is the ſyſtem of inſular ſubordination, which having little variety, cannot afford much delight in the view, nor long detain the mind in contemplation. The inhabitants were for a long time perhaps not unhappy; but their content was a muddy mixture of pride and ignorance, an indifference for pleaſures which they did not know, a blind veneration for their chiefs, and a ſtrong conviction of their own importance.

Their pride has been cruſhed by the heavy hand of a vindictive conqueror, whoſe ſeverities have been followed by laws, which, though they cannot be called cruel, have produced much diſcontent, becauſe they operate upon the ſurface of life, and make every eye bear witneſs to ſubjection. To be compelled to a new dreſs has always been found painful.

Their chiefs being now deprived of their juriſdiction, have already loſt much of their influence; and as they gradually degenerate from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords, they will diveſt themſelves of the little that remains.

That dignity which they derived from an opinion of their military importance, the law, which diſarmed them, has abated. An old gentleman, delighting himſelf

himſelf with the recollection of better days, related, that forty years ago, a chieftain walked out attended by ten or twelve followers, with their arms rattling. That animating rabble has now ceaſed. The chief has loſt his formidable retinue; and the *Highlander* walks his heath unarmed and defenceleſs, with the peaceable ſubmiſſion of a *French* peaſant, or *Engliſh* cottager.

Their ignorance grows every day leſs, but their knowledge is yet of little other uſe than to ſhew them their wants. They are now in the period of education, and feel the uneaſineſs of diſcipline, without yet perceiving the benefit of inſtruction.

The laſt law, by which the *Highlanders* are deprived of their arms, has operated with efficacy beyond expectation. Of former ſtatutes made with the ſame deſign, the execution had been feeble, and the effect inconſiderable. Concealment was undoubtedly practiſed, and perhaps often with connivance. There was tenderneſs or partiality on one ſide, and obſtinacy on the other. But the law, which followed the victory of *Culloden*, found the whole nation dejected and intimidated; informations were given without danger and without fear, and the arms were collected with ſuch rigour, that every houſe was deſpoiled of its defence.

To diſarm part of the *Highlands*, could give no reaſonable occaſion of complaint. Every government muſt be allowed the power of taking away the weapon that is lifted againſt it. But the loyal clans murmured, with ſome appearance of juſtice, that, after having defended the king, they were forbidden for the future to defend themſelves; and that

that the ſword ſhould be forfeited, which had been legally employed. Their caſe is undoubtedly hard, but in political regulations, good cannot be complete, it can only be predominant.

Whether by diſarming a people thus broken into ſeveral tribes, and thus remote from the ſeat of power, more good than evil has been produced, may deſerve enquiry. The ſupreme power in every community has the right of debarring every individual, and every ſubordinate ſociety, from ſelf-defence, only becauſe the ſupreme power is able to defend them; and therefore where the governor cannot act, he muſt truſt the ſubject to act for himſelf. Theſe iſlands might be waſted with fire and ſword before their ſovereign would know their diſtreſs. A gang of robbers, ſuch as has been lately found confederating themſelves in the *Highlands*, might lay a wide region under contribution. The crew of a petty privateer might land on the largeſt and moſt wealthy of the iſlands, and riot without controul in cruelty and waſte. It was obſerved by one of the chiefs of *Sky*, that fifty armed men might, without reſiſtance, ravage the country. Laws that place the ſubjects in ſuch a ſtate, contravene the firſt principles of the compact of authority: they exact obedience, and yield no protection.

It affords a generous and manly pleaſure to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its herds with fearleſs confidence, though it lies open on every ſide to invaſion, where, in contempt of walls and trenches, every man ſleeps ſecurely with his ſword beſide him; where all on the firſt approach



[library stamp]

of hoſtility came together at the call to battle, as at a ſummons to a feſtal ſhow; and committing their cattle to the care of thoſe whom age or nature has diſabled, engage the enemy with that competition for hazard and for glory, which operate in men that fight under the eye of thoſe, whoſe diſlike or kindneſs they have always conſidered as the greateſt evil or the greateſt good.

This was, in the beginning of the preſent century, the ſtate of the *Highlands*. Every man was a ſoldier, who partook of national confidence, and intereſted himſelf in national honour. To loſe this ſpirit, is to loſe what no ſmall advantage will compenſate.

It may likewiſe deſerve to be enquired, whether a great nation ought to be totally commercial? whether amidſt the uncertainty of human affairs, too much attention to one mode of happineſs may not endanger others? whether the pride of riches muſt not ſometimes have recourſe to the protection of courage? and whether, if it be neceſſary to preſerve in ſome part of the empire the military ſpirit, it can ſubſiſt more commodiouſly in any place, than in remote and unprofitable provinces, where it can commonly do little harm, and whence it may be called forth at any ſudden exigence?

It muſt however be confeſſed, that a man, who places honour only in ſucceſsful violence, is a very troubleſome and pernicious animal in time of peace; and that the martial character cannot prevail in a whole people, but by the diminution of all other virtues. He that is accuſtomed to reſolve all right into conqueſt, will have very little tenderneſs or equity.

All the friendſhip in ſuch a life can be only a confederacy of invaſion, or alliance of defence. The ſtrong muſt flouriſh by force, and the weak ſubſiſt by ſtratagem.

Till the *Highlanders* loſt their ferocity with their arms, they ſuffered from each other all that malignity could dictate, or precipitance could act. Every provocation was revenged with blood, and no man that ventured into a numerous company, by whatever occaſion brought together, was ſure of returning without a wound. If they are now expoſed to foreign hoſtilities, they may talk of the danger, but can ſeldom feel it. If they are no longer martial, they are no longer quarrelſome. Miſery is cauſed for the moſt part, not by a heavy cruſh of diſaſter, but by the corroſion of leſs viſible evils, which canker enjoyment, and undermine ſecurity. The viſit of an invader is neceſſarily rare, but domeſtick animoſities allow no ceſſation.

The abolition of the local juriſdictions, which had for ſo many ages been exerciſed by the chiefs, has likewiſe its evil and its good. The feudal conſtitution naturally diffuſed itſelf into long ramifications of ſubordinate authority. To this general temper of the government was added the peculiar form of the country, broken by mountains into many ſubdiviſions ſcarcely acceſſible but to the natives, and guarded by paſſes, or perplexed with intricacies, through which national juſtice could not find its way.

The power of deciding controverſies, and of puniſhing offences, as ſome ſuch power there muſt always be, was entruſted to the lairds of the country, to thoſe

whom the people confidered as their natural judges. It cannot be fuppofed that a rugged proprietor of the rocks, unprincipled and unenlightened, was a nice refolver of entangled claims, or very exact in proportioning punifhment to offences. But the more he indulged his own will, the more he held his vaffals in dependance. Prudence and innocence, without the favour of the chief, conferred no fecurity; and crimes involved no danger, when the judge was refolute to acquit.

When the chiefs were men of knowledge and virtue, the convenience of a domeftick judicature was great. No long journies were neceffary, nor artificial delays could be practifed; the character, the alliances, and interefts of the litigants were known to the court, and all falfe pretences were eafily detected. The fentence, when it was paft, could not be evaded; the power of the laird fuperfeded formalities, and juftice could not be defeated by intereft or ftratagem.

I doubt not but that fince the regular judges have made their circuits through the whole country, right has been every where more wifely and more equally diftributed; the complaint is, that litigation is grown troublefome, and that the magiftrates are too few, and therefore often too remote for general convenience.

Many of the fmaller iflands have no legal officer within them. I once afked, if a crime fhould be committed, by what authority the offender could be feized? and was told, that the laird would exert his right; a right which he muft now ufurp, but which furely neceffity muft vindicate, and which is therefore yet exercifed in lower degrees, by fome of the

the proprietors, when legal proceſſes cannot be obtained.

In all greater queſtions, however, there is now happily an end to all fear or hope from malice or from favour. The roads are ſecure in thoſe places through which, forty years ago, no traveller could paſs without a convoy. All trials of right by the ſword are forgotten, and the mean are in as little danger from the powerful as in other places. No ſcheme of policy has, in any country, yet brought the rich and poor on equal terms into courts of judicature. Perhaps experience, improving on experience, may in time effect it.

Thoſe who have long enjoyed dignity and power, ought not to loſe it without ſome equivalent. There was paid to the chiefs by the publick, in exchange for their privileges, perhaps a ſum greater than moſt of them had ever poſſeſſed, which excited a thirſt for riches, of which it ſhewed them the uſe. When the power of birth and ſtation ceaſes, no hope remains but from the prevalence of money. Power and wealth ſupply the place of each other. Power confers the ability of gratifying our deſire without the conſent of others. Wealth enables us to obtain the conſent of others to our gratification. Power, ſimply conſidered, whatever it confers on one, muſt take from another. Wealth enables its owner to give to others, by taking only from himſelf. Power pleaſes the violent and proud: wealth delights the placid and the timorous. Youth therefore flies at power, and age grovels after riches.

The chiefs, diveſted of their prerogatives, ne-

ceſſarily turned their thoughts to the improvement of their revenues, and expect more rent, as they have leſs homage. The tenant, who is far from perceiving that his condition is made better in the ſame proportion as that of his landlord is made worſe, does not immediately ſee why his induſtry is to be taxed more heavily than before. He refuſes to pay the demand, and is ejected; the ground is then let to a ſtranger, who perhaps brings a larger ſtock, but who, taking the land at its full price, treats with the laird upon equal terms, and conſiders him not as a chief but as a trafficker in land. Thus the eſtate perhaps is improved, but the clan is broken.

It ſeems to be the general opinion, that the rents have been raiſed with too much eagerneſs. Some regard muſt be paid to prejudice. Thoſe who have hitherto paid but little, will not ſuddenly be perſuaded to pay much, though they can afford it. As ground is gradually improved, and the value of money decreaſes, the rent may be raiſed without any diminution of the farmer's profits; yet it is neceſſary in theſe countries, where the ejection of a tenant is a greater evil than in more populous places, to conſider not merely what the land will produce, but with what ability the inhabitant can cultivate it. A certain ſtock can allow but a certain payment; for if the land be doubled, and the ſtock remains the ſame, the tenant becomes no richer. The proprietors of the *Highlands* might perhaps often increaſe their income, by ſubdividing the farms, and allotting to every occupier only ſo many acres as he can profitably employ, but that they want people.

There

There feems now, whatever be the caufe, to be through a great part of the *Highlands* a general difcontent. That adherence, which was lately profeffed by every man to the chief of his name, has now little prevalence; and he that cannot live as he defires at home, liftens to the tale of fortunate iflands, and happy regions, where every man may have land of his own, and eat the product of his labour without a fuperior.

Thofe who have obtained grants of *American* lands, have, as is well known, invited fettlers from all quarters of the globe; and among other places, where oppreffion might produce a wifh for new habitations, their emiffaries would not fail to try their perfuafions in the ifles of *Scotland*, where at the time when the clans where newly difunited from their chiefs, and exafperated by unprecedented exactions, it is no wonder that they prevailed.

Whether the mifchiefs of emigration were immediately perceived, may be juftly queftioned. They who went firft, were probably fuch as could beft be fpared; but the accounts fent by the earlieft adventurers, whether true or falfe, inclined many to follow them; and whole neighbourhoods formed parties for removal; fo that departure from their native country is no longer exile. He that goes thus accompanied, carries with him all that makes life pleafant. He fits down in a better climate, furrounded by his kindred and his friends: they carry with them their language, their opinions, their popular fongs, and hereditary merriment: they change nothing but the place of their abode; and of that change they perceive the benefit.

This is the real effect of emigration, if thoſe that go away together ſettle on the ſame ſpot, and preſerve their ancient union. But ſome relate that theſe adventurous viſitants of unknown regions, after a voyage paſſed in dreams of plenty and felicity, are diſperſed at laſt upon a ſylvan wilderneſs, where their firſt years muſt be ſpent in toil, to clear the ground which is afterwards to be tilled, and that the whole effect of their undertaking is only more fatigue and equal ſcarcity.

Both accounts may be ſuſpected. Thoſe who are gone will endeavour by every art to draw others after them; for as their numbers are greater, they will provide better for themſelves. When *Nova Scotia* was firſt peopled, I remember a letter, publiſhed under the character of a New Planter, who related how much the climate put him in mind of *Italy*. Such intelligence the *Hebridians* probably receive from their tranſmarine correſpondents. But with equal temptations of intereſt, and perhaps with no greater niceneſs of veracity, the owners of the iſlands ſpread ſtories of *American* hardſhips to keep their people content at home.

Some method to ſtop this epidemick deſire of wandering, which ſpreads its contagion from valley to valley, deſerves to be ſought with great diligence. In more fruitful countries, the removal of one, only makes room for the ſucceſſion of another: but in the *Hebrides*, the loſs of an inhabitant leaves a laſting vacuity; for nobody born in any other parts of the world will chooſe this country for his reſi-

dence;

dence; and an iſland once depopulated will remain a deſert, as long as the preſent facility of travel gives every one, who is diſcontented and unſettled, the choice of his abode.

Let it be enquired, whether the firſt intention of thoſe who are fluttering on the wing, and collecting a flock that they may take their flight, be to attain good, or to avoid evil. If they are diſſatisfied with that part of the globe, which their birth has allotted them, and reſolve not to live without the pleaſures of happier climates; if they long for bright ſuns, and calm ſkies, and flowery fields, and fragrant gardens, I know not by what eloquence they can be perſuaded, or by what offers they can be hired to ſtay.

But if they are driven from their native country by poſitive evils, and diſguſted by ill-treatment, real or imaginary, it were fit to remove their grievances, and quiet their reſentment; ſince, if they have been hitherto undutiful ſubjects, they will not much mend their principles by *American* converſation.

To allure them into the army, it was thought proper to indulge them in the continuance of their national dreſs. If this conceſſion could have any effect, it might eaſily be made. That diſſimilitude of appearance, which was ſuppoſed to keep them diſtinct from the reſt of the nation, might diſincline them from coaleſcing with the *Penſylvanians* or people of *Connecticut*. If the reſtitution of their arms will reconcile them to their country, let them have again thoſe weapons, which will not be more miſchievous at home than in the Colonies. That they

may

may not fly from the increase of rent, I know not whether the general good does not require that the landlords be, for a time, restrained in their demands, and kept quiet by pensions proportionate to their loss.

To hinder insurrection by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably, by having no subjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politicks. To soften the obdurate, to convince the mistaken, to mollify the resentful, are worthy of a statesman; but it affords a legislator little self-applause to consider, that where there was formerly an insurrection, there is now a wilderness.

It has been a question often agitated without solution, why those northern regions are now so thinly peopled, which formerly overwhelmed with their armies the *Roman* empire. The question supposes what I believe is not true, that they had once more inhabitants than they could maintain, and overflowed only because they were full.

This is to estimate the manners of all countries and ages by our own. Migration, while the state of life was unsettled, and there was little communication of intelligence between distant places, was among the wilder nations of *Europe* capricious and casual. An adventurous projector heard of a fertile coast unoccupied, and led out a colony; a chief of renown for bravery, called the young men together, and led them out to try what fortune would present. When *Cæsar* was in *Gaul*, he found the *Helvetians* preparing to go they knew not whither, and put a stop to their motions. They settled again in their own coun-

try,

try, where they were ſo far from wanting room, that they had accumulated three years proviſion for their march.

The religion of the north was military; if they could not find enemies, it was their duty to make them: they travelled in queſt of danger, and willingly took the chance of empire or death. If their troops were numerous, the countries from which they were collected are of vaſt extent, and without much exuberance of people great armies may be raiſed where every man is a ſoldier. But their true numbers were never known. Thoſe who were conquered by them are their hiſtorians, and ſhame may have excited them to ſay, that they were overwhelmed with multitudes. To count is a modern practice, the ancient method was to gueſs; and when numbers are gueſſed, they are always magnified.

Thus *England* has for ſeveral years been filled with the achievements of ſeventy thouſand *Highlanders* employed in *America*. I have heard from an *Engliſh* officer, not much inclined to favour them, that their behaviour deſerved a very high degree of military praiſe; but their number has been much exaggerated. One of the miniſters told me, that ſeventy thouſand men could not have been found in all the *Highlands*, and that more than twelve thouſand never took the field. Thoſe that went to the *American* war, went to deſtruction. Of the old *Highland* regiment, conſiſting of twelve hundred, only ſeventy-ſix ſurvived to ſee their country again.

The *Gothick* ſwarms have at leaſt been multiplied with equal liberality. That they bore no great proportion to the inhabitants, in whoſe countries they ſettled,

tled, is plain from the paucity of northern words now found in the provincial languages. Their country was not deserted for want of room, because it was covered with forests of vast extent; and the first effect of plenitude of inhabitants is the destruction of wood. As the *Europeans* spread over *America*, the lands are gradually laid naked.

I would not be understood to say, that necessity had never any part in their expeditions. A nation, whose agriculture is scanty or unskilful, may be driven out by famine. A nation of hunters may have exhausted their game. I only affirm that the northern regions were not, when their irruptions subdued the *Romans*, overpeopled with regard to their real extent of territory, and power of fertility. In a country fully inhabited, however afterward laid waste, evident marks will remain of its former populousness. But of *Scandinavia* and *Germany*, nothing is known but that as we trace their state upwards into antiquity, their woods were greater, and their cultivated ground was less.

That causes very different from want of room may produce a general disposition to seek another country, is apparent from the present conduct of the *Highlanders*, who are in some places ready to threaten a total secession. The numbers which have already gone, though like other numbers they may be magnified, are very great, and such as if they had gone together and agreed upon any certain settlement, might have founded an independent government in the depths of the western continent. Nor are they only the lowest and most indigent; many men of considerable wealth have taken with them their train of labourers

bourers and dependants; and if they continue the feudal ſcheme of polity, may eſtabliſh new clans in the other hemiſphere.

That the immediate motives of their deſertion muſt be imputed to their landlords, may be reaſonably concluded, becauſe ſome lairds of more prudence and leſs rapacity have kept their vaſſals undiminiſhed. From *Raaſay* only one man had been ſeduced, and at *Col* there was no wiſh to go away.

The traveller who comes hither from more opulent countries, to ſpeculate upon the remains of paſtoral life, will not much wonder that a common *Highlander* has no ſtrong adherence to his native ſoil; for of animal enjoyments, or of phyſical good, he leaves nothing that he may not find again whereſoever he may be thrown.

The habitations of men in the *Hebrides* may be diſtinguiſhed into huts and houſes. By a *houſe*, I mean a building with one ſtory over another; by a *hut*, a dwelling with only one floor. The laird, who formerly lived in a caſtle, now lives in a houſe; ſometimes ſufficiently neat, but ſeldom very ſpacious or ſplendid. The tackſmen and the miniſters have commonly houſes. Wherever there is a houſe, the ſtranger finds a welcome, and to the other evils of exterminating tackſmen may be added the unavoidable ceſſation of hoſpitality, or the devolution of too heavy a burden on the miniſters.

Of the houſes little can be ſaid. They are ſmall, and by the neceſſity of accumulating ſtores, where there are ſo few opportunities of purchaſe, the rooms are very heterogeneouſly filled. With want of cleanlineſs it were ingratitude to reproach them. The

ſervants

ſervants having been bred upon the naked earth, think every floor clean, and the quick ſucceſſion of gueſts, perhaps not always over-elegant, does not allow much time for adjuſting their apartments.

Huts are of many gradations; from murky dens, to commodious dwellings.

The wall of a common hut is always built without mortar, by a ſkilful adaptation of looſe ſtones. Sometimes perhaps a double wall of ſtones is raiſed, and the intermediate ſpace filled with earth. The air is thus completely excluded. Some walls are, I think, formed of turfs, held together by a wattle, or texture of twigs. Of the meaneſt huts, the firſt room is lighted by the entrance, and the ſecond by the ſmoke-hole. The fire is uſually made in the middle. But there are huts, or dwellings, of only one ſtory, inhabited by gentlemen, which have walls cemented with mortar, glaſs windows, and boarded floors. Of theſe all have chimneys, and ſome chimneys have grates.

The houſe and the furniture are not always nicely ſuited. We were driven once, by miſſing a paſſage, to the hut of a gentleman, where, after a very liberal ſupper, when I was conducted to my chamber, I found an elegant bed of *Indian* cotton, ſpread with fine ſheets. The accommodation was flattering; I undreſſed myſelf, and felt my feet in the mire. The bed ſtood upon the bare earth, which a long courſe of rain had ſoftened to a puddle.

In paſtoral countries the condition of the loweſt rank of people is ſufficiently wretched. Among manufacturers, men that have no property may have art and induſtry, which make them neceſſary, and therefore valuable. But where flocks and corn are the only

only wealth, there are always more hands than work, and of that work there is little in which ſkill and dexterity can be much diſtinguiſhed. He therefore who is born poor never can be rich. The ſon merely occupies the place of the father, and life knows nothing of progreſſion or advancement.

The petty tenants, and labouring peaſants, live in miſerable cabins, which afford them little more than ſhelter from the ſtorms. The boor of *Norway* is ſaid to make all his own utenſils. In the *Hebrides*, whatever might be their ingenuity, the want of wood leaves them no materials. They are probably content with ſuch accommodations as ſtones of different forms and ſizes can afford them.

Their food is not better than their lodging. They ſeldom taſte the fleſh of land animals; for here are no markets. What each man eats is from his own ſtock. The great effect of money is to break property into ſmall parts. In towns, he that has a ſhilling may have a piece of meat; but where there is no commerce, no man can eat mutton but by killing a ſheep.

Fiſh in fair weather they need not want; but, I believe, man never lives long on fiſh, but by conſtraint; he will rather feed upon roots and berries.

The only fewel of the iſlands is peat. Their wood is all conſumed, and coal they have not yet found. Peat is dug out of the marſhes, from the depth of one foot to that of ſix. That is accounted the beſt which is neareſt the ſurface. It appears to be a maſs of black earth held together by vegetable fibres. I know not whether the earth be bituminous, or whether the fibres be not the only combuſtible

part;

part; which, by heating the interpofed earth red hot, make a burning mafs. The heat is not very ftrong nor lafting. The afhes are yellowifh, and in a large quantity. When they dig peat, they cut it into fquare pieces, and pile it up to dry befide the houfe. In fome places it has an offenfive fmell. It is like wood charked for the fmith. The common method of making peat fires is by heaping it on the hearth; but it burns well in grates, and in the beft houfes is fo ufed.

The common opinion is, that peat grows again where it has been cut; which, as it feems to be chiefly a vegetable fubftance, is not unlikely to be true, whether known or not to thofe who relate it.

There are water mills in *Sky* and *Raafay*; but where they are too far diftant, the houfe-wives grind their oats with a quern, or hand-mill, which confifts of two ftones, about a foot and a half in diameter; the lower is a little convex, to which the concavity of the upper muft be fitted. In the middle of the upper ftone is a round hole, and on one fide is a long handle. The grinder fheds the corn gradually into the hole with one hand, and works the handle round with the other. The corn flides down the convexity of the lower ftone, and by the motion of the upper is ground in its paffage. Thefe ftones are found in *Lochabar*.

The iflands afford few pleafures, except to the hardy fportfman, who can tread the moor and climb the mountain. The diftance of one family from another, in a country where travelling has fo much difficulty, makes frequent intercourfe impracticable.

Vifits

Visits last several days, and are commonly paid by water; yet I never saw a boat furnished with benches, or made commodious by any addition to the first fabrick. Conveniencies are not missed where they never were enjoyed.

The solace which the bagpipe can give, they have long enjoyed; but among other changes, which the last revolution introduced, the use of the bagpipe begins to be forgotten. Some of the chief families still entertain a piper, whose office was anciently hereditary. *Macrimmon* was piper to *Macleod*, and *Rankin* to *Maclean* of *Col*.

The tunes of the bagpipe are traditional. There has been in *Sky*, beyond all time of memory, a college of pipers, under the direction of *Macrimmon*, which is not quite extinct. There was another in *Mull*, superintended by *Rankin*, which expired about sixteen years ago. To these colleges, while the pipe retained its honour, the students of musick repaired for education. I have had my dinner exhilarated by the bagpipe, at *Armidale*, at *Dunvegan*, and in *Col*.

The general conversation of the islanders has nothing particular. I did not meet with the inquisitiveness of which I have read, and suspect the judgment to have been rashly made. A stranger of curiosity comes into a place where a stranger is seldom seen: he importunes the people with questions, of which they cannot guess the motive, and gazes with surprise on things which they, having had them always before their eyes, do not suspect of any thing wonderful. He appears to them like some being of another world, and then thinks it peculiar that they

take their turn to inquire whence he comes, and whither he is going.

The iſlands were long unfurniſhed with inſtruction for youth, and none but the ſons of gentlemen could have any literature. There are now parochial ſchools, to which the lord of every manor pays a certain ſtipend. Here the children are taught to read; but by the rule of their inſtitution, they teach only *Engliſh*, ſo that the natives read a language which they may never uſe or underſtand. If a pariſh, which often happens, contains ſeveral iſlands, the ſchool being but in one, cannot aſſiſt the reſt. This is the ſtate of *Col*, which, however, is more enlightened than ſome other places; for the deficiency is ſupplied by a young gentleman, who, for his own improvement, travels every year on foot over the *Highlands* to the ſeſſion at *Aberdeen*; and at his return, during the vacation, teaches to read and write in his native iſland.

In *Sky* there are two grammar-ſchools, where boarders are taken to be regularly educated. The price of board is from three pounds, to four pounds ten ſhillings a year, and that of inſtruction is half a crown a quarter. But the ſcholars are birds of paſſage, who live at ſchool only in the ſummer; for in winter proviſions cannot be made for any conſiderable number in one place. This periodical diſperſion impreſſes ſtongly the ſcarcity of theſe countries.

Having heard of no boarding-ſchool for ladies nearer than *Inverneſs*, I ſuppoſe their education is generally domeſtick. The elder daughters of the higher families are ſent into the world, and may contribute

tribute by their acquiſitions to the improvement of the reſt.

Women muſt here ſtudy to be either pleaſing or uſeful. Their deficiencies are ſeldom ſupplied by very liberal fortunes. A hundred pounds is a portion beyond the hope of any but the laird's daughter. They do not indeed often give money with their daughters; the queſtion is, How many cows a young lady will bring her huſband? A rich maiden has from ten to forty; but two cows are a decent fortune for one who pretends to no diſtinction.

The religion of the iſlands is that of the kirk of *Scotland*. The gentlemen with whom I converſed are all inclined to the *Engliſh* liturgy; but they are obliged to maintain the eſtabliſhed miniſter, and the country is too poor to afford payment to another, who muſt live wholly on the contribution of his audience.

They therefore all attend the worſhip of the kirk, as often as a viſit from their miniſter, or the practicability of travelling, gives them opportunity; nor have they any reaſon to complain of inſufficient paſtors; for I ſaw not one in the iſlands, whom I had reaſon to think either deficient in learning, or irregular in life; but found ſeveral with whom I could not converſe without wiſhing, as my reſpect increaſed, that they had not been preſbyterians.

The ancient rigour of puritaniſm is now very much relaxed, though all are not yet equally enlightened. I ſometimes met with prejudices ſufficiently malignant, but they were prejudices of ignorance. The miniſters in the iſlands had attained ſuch know-

ledge as may juſtly be admired in men, who have no motive to ſtudy, but generous curioſity, or, what is ſtill better, deſire of uſefulneſs; with ſuch politeneſs as ſo narrow a circle of converſe could not have ſupplied, but to minds naturally diſpoſed to elegance.

Reaſon and truth will prevail at laſt. The moſt learned of the *Scottiſh* doctors would now gladly admit a form of prayer, if the people would endure it. The zeal or rage of congregations has its different degrees. In ſome pariſhes the Lord's Prayer is ſuffered: in others it is ſtill rejected as a form; and he that ſhould make it part of his ſupplication would be ſuſpected of heretical pravity.

The principle upon which extemporary prayer was originally introduced, is no longer admitted. The miniſter formerly, in the effuſion of his prayer, expected immediate, and perhaps perceptible inſpiration, and therefore thought it his duty not to think before what he ſhould ſay. It is now univerſally confeſſed, that men pray as they ſpeak on other occaſions, according to the general meaſure of their abilities and attainments. Whatever each may think of a form preſcribed by another, he cannot but believe that he can himſelf compoſe by ſtudy and meditation a better prayer than will riſe in his mind at a ſudden call; and if he has any hope of ſupernatural help, why may he not as well receive it when he writes as when he ſpeaks?

In the variety of mental powers, ſome muſt perform extemporary prayer with much imperfection; and in the eagerneſs and raſhneſs of contradictory opinions,

opinions, if publick liturgy be left to the private judgment of every minister, the congregation may often be offended or misled.

There is in *Scotland*, as among ourselves, a restless suspicion of popish machinations, and a clamour of numerous converts to the Romish religion. The report is, I believe, in both parts of the island equally false. The Romish religion is professed only in *Egg* and *Canna*, two small islands, into which the reformation never made its way. If any missionaries are busy in the *Highlands*, their zeal entitles them to respect, even from those who cannot think favourably of their doctrine.

The political tenets of the islanders I was not curious to investigate, and they were not eager to obtrude. Their conversation is decent and inoffensive. They disdain to drink for their principles, and there is no disaffection at their tables. I never heard a health offered by a *Highlander* that might not have circulated with propriety within the precincts of the king's palace.

Legal government has yet something of novelty to which they cannot perfectly conform. The ancient spirit that appealed only to the sword, is yet among them. The tenant of *Scalpa*, an island belonging to *Macdonald*, took no care to bring his rent; when the landlord talked of exacting payment, he declared his resolution to keep his ground and drive all intruders from the island, and continued to feed his cattle as on his own land, till it became necessary for the sheriff to dislodge him by violence.

The various kinds of ſuperſtition which prevailed here, as in all other regions of ignorance, are by the diligence of the miniſters almoſt extirpated.

Of *Browny*, mentioned by *Martin*, nothing has been heard for many years. *Browny* was a ſturdy fairy; who, if he was fed, and kindly treated, would, as they ſaid, do a great deal of work. They now pay him no wages, and are content to labour for themſelves.

In *Troda*, within theſe three-and-thirty years, milk was put every *Saturday* for *Greogach*, or *the Old Man with the Long Beard*. Whether *Greogach* was courted as kind, or dreaded as terrible, whether they meant, by giving him the milk, to obtain good or avert evil, I was not informed. The miniſter is now living by whom the practice was aboliſhed.

They have ſtill among them a great number of charms for the cure of different diſeaſes; they are all invocations, perhaps tranſmitted to them from the times of popery, which increaſing knowledge will bring into diſuſe.

They have opinions, which cannot be ranked with ſuperſtition, becauſe they regard only natural effects. They expect better crops of grain, by ſowing their ſeed in the moon's increaſe. The moon has great influence in vulgar philoſophy. In my memory it was a precept annually given in one of the *Engliſh* almanacks, *to kill hogs when the moon was increaſing, and the bacon would prove the better in boiling.*

We ſhould have had little claim to the praiſe of curioſity, if we had not endeavoured with particu-

lar

lar attention to examine the queſtion of the *Second Sight*. Of an opinion received for centuries by a whole nation, and ſuppoſed to be confirmed through its whole deſcent by a ſeries of ſucceſſive facts, it is deſirable that the truth ſhould be eſtabliſhed, or the fallacy detected.

The *Second Sight* is an impreſſion made either by the mind upon the eye, or by the eye upon the mind, by which things diſtant or future are perceived, and ſeen as if they were preſent. A man on a journey far from home falls from his horſe; another, who is perhaps at work about the houſe, ſees him bleeding on the ground, commonly with a landſcape of the place where the accident befalls him. Another ſeer, driving home his cattle, or wandering in idleneſs, or muſing in the ſunſhine, is ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the appearance of a bridal ceremony, or funeral proceſſion, and counts the mourners or attendants, of whom, if he knows them, he relates the names, if he knows them not, he can deſcribe the dreſſes. Things diſtant are ſeen at the inſtant when they happen. Of things future I know not that there is any rule for determining the time between the ſight and the event.

This receptive faculty, for power it cannot be called, is neither voluntary nor conſtant. The appearances have no dependence upon choice: they cannot be ſummoned, detained, or recalled. The impreſſion is ſudden, and the effect often painful.

By the term *Second Sight*, ſeems to be meant a mode of ſeeing, ſuperadded to that which nature generally beſtows. In the *Earſe* it is called *Taiſch*; which ſignifies likewiſe a ſpectre, or a viſion. I know not,

nor is it likely that the *Highlanders* ever examined, whether by *Taiſch*, uſed for *Second Sight*, they mean the power of ſeeing, or the thing ſeen.

I do not find it to be true, as it is reported, that to the *Second Sight* nothing is preſented but phantoms of evil. Good ſeems to have the ſame proportion in thoſe viſionary ſcenes, as it obtains in real life: almoſt all remarkable events have evil for their baſis; and are either miſeries incurred, or miſeries eſcaped. Our ſenſe is ſo much ſtronger of what we ſuffer, than of what we enjoy, that the ideas of pain predominate in almoſt every mind. What is recollection but a revival of vexations, or hiſtory but a record of wars, treaſons, and calamities? Death, which is conſidered as the greateſt evil, happens to all. The greateſt good, be it what it will, is the lot but of a part.

That they ſhould often ſee death is to be expected; becauſe death is an event frequent and important. But they ſee likewiſe more pleaſing incidents. A gentleman told me, that when he had once gone far from his own iſland, one of his labouring ſervants predicted his return, and deſcribed the livery of his attendant, which he had never worn at home; and which had been, without any previous deſign, occaſionally given him.

Our deſire of information was keen, and our inquiry frequent. Mr. *Boſwell*'s frankneſs and gaiety made every body communicative; and we heard many tales of theſe airy ſhows, with more or leſs evidence and diſtinctneſs.

It is the common talk of the Lowland *Scots*, that the notion of the *Second Sight* is wearing away with other

other ſuperſtitions; and that its reality is no longer ſuppoſed, but by the groſſeſt people. How far its prevalence ever extended, or what ground it has loſt, I know not. The iſlanders of all degrees, whether of rank or underſtanding, univerſally admit it, except the miniſters, who univerſally deny it, and are ſuſpected to deny it, in conſequence of a ſyſtem, againſt conviction. One of them honeſtly told me, that he came to *Sky* with a reſolution not to believe it.

Strong reaſons for incredulity will readily occur. This faculty of ſeeing things out of ſight is local, and commonly uſeleſs. It is a breach of the common order of things, without any viſible reaſon or perceptible benefit. It is aſcribed only to a people very little enlightened; and among them, for the moſt part, to the mean and ignorant.

To the confidence of theſe objections it may be replied, that by preſuming to determine what is fit, and what is beneficial, they preſuppoſe more knowledge of the univerſal ſyſtem than man has attained; and therefore depend upon principles too complicated and extenſive for our comprehenſion; and that there can be no ſecurity in the conſequence, when the premiſes are not underſtood; that the *Second Sight* is only wonderful becauſe it is rare, for, conſidered in itſelf, it involves no more difficulty than dreams, or perhaps than the regular exerciſe of the cogitative faculty; that a general opinion of communicative impulſes, or viſionary repreſentations, has prevailed in all ages and all nations; that particular inſtances have been given, with ſuch evidence as neither *Bacon* nor *Bayle* has been able to

reſiſt;

resist; that sudden impressions, which the event has verified, have been felt by more than own or publish them; that the *Second Sight* of the *Hebrides* implies only the local frequency of a power which is no where totally unknown; and that where we are unable to decide by antecedent reason, we must be content to yield to the force of testimony.

By pretension to *Second Sight*, no profit was ever sought or gained. It is an involuntary affection, in which neither hope nor fear are known to have any part. Those who profess to feel it do not boast of it as a privilege, nor are considered by others as advantageously distinguished. They have no temptation to feign; and their hearers have no motive to encourage the imposture.

To talk with any of these seers is not easy. There is one living in *Sky*, with whom we would have gladly conversed; but he was very gross and ignorant, and knew no *English*. The proportion in these countries of the poor to the rich is such, that if we suppose the quality to be accidental, it can very rarely happen to a man of education; and yet on such men it has sometimes fallen. There is now a second sighted gentleman in the *Highlands*, who complains of the terrors to which he is exposed.

The foresight of the seers is not always prescience: they are impressed with images, of which the event only shews them the meaning. They tell what they have seen to others, who are at that time not more knowing than themselves, but may become at last very adequate witnesses, by comparing the narrative with its verification.

To collect ſufficient teſtimonies for the ſatisfaction of the publick, or of ourſelves, would have required more time than we could beſtow. There is, againſt it, the ſeeming analogy of things confuſedly ſeen, and little underſtood; and for it, the indiſtinct cry of national perſuaſion, which may be perhaps reſolved at laſt into prejudice and tradition. I never could advance my curioſity to conviction; but came away at laſt only willing to believe.

As there ſubſiſts no longer in the iſlands much of that peculiar and diſcriminative form of life, of which the idea had delighted our imagination, we were willing to liſten to ſuch accounts of paſt times as would be given us. But we ſoon found what memorials were to be expected from an illiterate people, whoſe whole time is a ſeries of diſtreſs; where every morning is labouring with expedients for the evening; and where all mental pains or pleaſure aroſe from the dread of winter, the expectation of ſpring, the caprices of their chiefs, and the motions of the neighbouring clans; where there was neither ſhame from ignorance, nor pride in knowledge; neither curioſity to inquire, nor vanity to communicate.

The chiefs indeed were exempt from urgent penury and daily difficulties; and in their houſes were preſerved what accounts remained of paſt ages. But the chiefs were ſometimes ignorant and careleſs, and ſometimes kept buſy by turbulence and contention; and one generation of ignorance effaces the whole ſeries of unwritten hiſtory. Books are faithful repoſitories, which may be a while neglected

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or forgotten; but when they are opened again, will again impart their inſtruction: memory, once interrupted, is not to be recalled. Written learning is a fixed luminary, which, after the cloud that had hidden it has paſt away, is again bright in its proper ſtation. Tradition is but a meteor, which, if once it falls, cannot be rekindled.

It ſeems to be univerſally ſuppoſed, that much of the local hiſtory was preſerved by the bards, of whom one is ſaid to have been retained by every great family. After theſe bards were ſome of my firſt inquiries; and I received ſuch anſwers as, for a while, made me pleaſe myſelf with my increaſe of knowledge; for I had not then learned how to eſtimate the narration of a *Highlander*.

They ſaid that a great family had a *bard* and a *ſenachi*, who were the poet and hiſtorian of the houſe; and an old gentleman told me that he remembered one of each. Here was a dawn of intelligence. Of men that had lived within memory, ſome certain knowledge might be attained. Though the office had ceaſed, its effects might continue; the poems might be found, though there was no poet.

Another converſation indeed informed me, that the ſame man was both bard and ſenachi. This variation diſcouraged me; but as the practice might be different in different times, or at the ſame time in different families, there was yet no reaſon for ſuppoſing that I muſt neceſſarily ſit down in total ignorance.

Soon after I was told by a gentleman who is generally acknowledged the greateſt maſter of *Hebridian*

*bridian* antiquities, that there had indeed once been both bards and ſenachies; and that *ſenachi* ſignified *the man of talk*, or of converſation; but that neither bard nor ſenachi had exiſted for ſome centuries. I have no reaſon to ſuppoſe it exactly known at what time the cuſtom ceaſed, nor did it probably ceaſe in all houſes at once. But whenever the practice of recitation was diſuſed, the works, whether poetical or hiſtorical, periſhed with the authors; for in thoſe times nothing had been written in the *Earſe* language.

Whether the *man of talk* was an hiſtorian, whoſe office was to tell truth, or a ſtory-teller, like thoſe which were in the laſt century, and perhaps are now among the *Iriſh*, whoſe trade was only to amuſe, it now would be vain to inquire.

Moſt of the domeſtick offices were, I believe, hereditary; and probably the laureat of a clan was always the ſon of the laſt laureat. The hiſtory of the race could no otherwiſe be communicated or retained; but what genius could be expected in a poet by inheritance?

The nation was wholly illiterate. Neither bards nor ſenachies could write or read; but if they were ignorant, there was no danger of detection; they were believed by thoſe whoſe vanity they flattered.

The recital of genealogies, which has been conſidered as very efficacious to the preſervation of a true ſeries of anceſtry, was anciently made when the heir of the family came to manly age. This practice has never ſubſiſted within time of memory, nor was much credit due to ſuch rehearſers, who might ob-

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trude fictitious pedigrees, either to pleafe their maf-ters, or to hide the deficiency of their own me-mories.

Where the chiefs of the *Highlands* have found the hiftories of their defcent is difficult to tell; for no *Earfe* genealogy was ever written. In general this only is evident, that the principal houfe of a clan muft be very ancient, and that thofe muft have lived long in a place, of whom it is not known when they came thither.

Thus hopelefs are all attempts to find any traces of *Highland* learning. Nor are their primitive cuftoms and ancient manner of life otherwife than very faintly and uncertainly remembered by the prefent race.

The peculiarities which ftrike the native of a com-mercial country, proceeded in a great meafure from the want of money. To the fervants and depend-ants that were not domefticks, and, if an eftimate be made from the capacity of any of their old houfes which I have feen, their domefticks could have been but few, were appropriated certain portions of land for their fupport. *Macdonald* has a piece of ground yet, called the Bards or Senachies field. When a beef was killed for the houfe, particular parts were claimed as fees by the feveral officers, or workmen. What was the right of each I have not learned. The head belonged to the fmith, and the udder of a cow to the piper; the weaver had likewife his particular part; and fo many pieces followed thefe prefcriptive claims, that the laird's was at laft but little.

The payment of rent in kind has been fo long difufed in *England*, that it is totally forgotten. It was

practised very lately in the *Hebrides*, and probably still continues, not only at *St. Kilda*, where money is not yet known, but in others of the smaller and remoter islands. It were perhaps to be desired, that no change in this particular should have been made. When the laird could only eat the produce of his lands, he was under the necessity of residing upon them; and when the tenant could not convert his stock into more portable riches, he could never be tempted away from his farm, from the only place where he could be wealthy. Money confounds subordination, by overpowering the distinctions of rank and birth, and weakens authority, by supplying power of resistance, or expedients for escape. The feudal system is formed for a nation employed in agriculture, and has never long kept its hold where gold and silver have become common.

Their arms were anciently the *Glaymore*, or great two-handed sword, and afterwards the two-edged sword and target, or buckler, which was sustained on the left arm. In the midst of the target, which was made of wood, covered with leather, and studded with nails, a slender lance, about two feet long, was sometimes fixed; it was heavy and cumberous, and accordingly has for some time past been gradually laid aside. Very few targets were at *Culloden*. The dirk, or broad dagger, I am afraid, was of more use in private quarrels than in battles. The *Lochaber* ax is only a slight alteration of the old *English* bill.

After all that has been said of the force and terrour of the *Highland* sword, I could not find that the art of defence was any part of common education.

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The gentlemen were perhaps ſometimes ſkilful gladiators, but the common men had no other powers than thoſe of violence and courage. Yet it is well known, that the onſet of the *Highlanders* was very formidable. As an army cannot conſiſt of philoſophers, a panick is eaſily excited by any unwonted mode of annoyance. New dangers are naturally magnified; and men accuſtomed only to exchange bullets at a diſtance, and rather to hear their enemies than ſee them, are diſcouraged and amazed when they find themſelves encountered hand to hand, and catch the gleam of ſteel flaſhing in their faces.

The *Highland* weapons gave opportunity for many exertions of perſonal courage, and ſometimes for ſingle combats in the field; like thoſe which occur ſo frequently in fabulous wars. At *Falkirk*, a gentleman now living, was, I ſuppoſe after the retreat of the king's troops, engaged at a diſtance from the reſt with an *Iriſh* dragoon. They were both ſkilful ſwordſmen, and the conteſt was not eaſily decided: the dragoon at laſt had the advantage, and the *Highlander* called for quarter; but quarter was refuſed him, and the fight continued till he was reduced to defend himſelf upon his knee. At that inſtant one of the *Macleods* came to his reſcue; who, as it is ſaid, offered quarter to the dragoon, but he thought himſelf obliged to reject what he had before refuſed, and, as battle gives little time to deliberate, was immediately killed.

Funerals were formerly ſolemnized by calling multitudes together, and entertaining them at great expence. This emulation of uſeleſs coſt has been

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for ſome time diſcouraged, and at laſt in the iſle of *Sky* is almoſt ſuppreſſed.

Of the *Earſe* language, as I underſtand nothing, I cannot ſay more than I have been told. It is the rude ſpeech of a barbarous people, who had few thoughts to expreſs, and were content, as they conceived groſsly, to be groſsly underſtood. After what has been lately talked of *Highland* bards, and *Highland* genius, many will ſtartle when they are told, that the *Earſe* never was a written language; that there is not in the world an *Earſe* manuſcript a hundred years old; and that the ſounds of the *Highlanders* were never expreſſed by letters, till ſome little books of piety were tranſlated, and a metrical verſion of the *Pſalms* was made by the ſynod of *Argyle*. Whoever therefore now writes in this language, ſpells according to his own perception of the ſound, and his own idea of the power of the letters. The *Welſh* and the *Iriſh* are cultivated tongues. The *Welſh*, two hundred years ago, inſulted their *Engliſh* neighbours for the inſtability of their orthography; while the *Earſe* merely floated in the breath of the people, and could therefore receive little improvement.

When a language begins to teem with books, it is tending to refinement; as thoſe who undertake to teach others muſt have undergone ſome labour in improving themſelves, they ſet a proportionate value on their own thoughts, and wiſh to enforce them by efficacious expreſſions; ſpeech becomes embodied and permanent; different modes and phraſes are compared, and the beſt obtains an eſtabliſhment. By degrees, one age improves upon another. Exactneſs is

firſt obtained, and afterwards elegance. But diction, merely vocal, is always in its childhood. As no man leaves his eloquence behind him, the new generations have all to learn. There may poſſibly be books without a poliſhed language, but there can be no poliſhed language without books.

That the bards could not read more than the reſt of their countrymen, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe; becauſe, if they had read, they could probably have written; and how high their compoſitions may reaſonably be rated, an enquirer may beſt judge by conſidering what ſtores of imagery, what principles of ratiocination, what comprehenſion of knowledge, and what delicacy of elocution he has known any man attain who cannot read. The ſtate of the bards was yet more hopeleſs. He that cannot read, may now conveſe with thoſe that can; but the bard was a barbarian among barbarians, who, knowing nothing himſelf, lived with others that knew no more.

There has lately been in the iſlands one of theſe illiterate poets, who hearing the Bible read at church, is ſaid to have turned the ſacred hiſtory into verſe. I heard part of a dialogue, compoſed by him, tranſlated by a young lady in *Mull*, and thought it had more meaning than I expected from a man totally uneducated; but he had ſome opportunities of knowledge; he lived among a learned people. After all that has been done for the inſtruction of the *Highlanders*, the antipathy between their language and literature ſtill continues; and no man that has learned only *Earſe* is, at this time, able to read.

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The *Earſe* has many dialects, and the words uſed in ſome iſlands are not always known in others. In literate nations, though the pronunciation, and ſometimes the words of common ſpeech, may differ, as now in *England*, compared with the ſouth of *Scotland*, yet there is a written diction, which pervades all dialects, and is underſtood in every province. But where the whole language is colloquial, he that has only one part, never gets the reſt, as he cannot get it but by change of reſidence.

In an unwritten ſpeech, nothing that is not very ſhort is tranſmitted from one generation to another. Few have opportunities of hearing a long compoſition often enough to learn it, or have inclination to repeat it ſo often as is neceſſary to retain it; and what is once forgotten is loſt for ever. I believe there cannot be recovered, in the whole *Earſe* language, five hundred lines of which there is any evidence to prove them a hundred years old. Yet I hear that the father of *Oſſian* boaſts of two cheſts more of ancient poetry, which he ſuppreſſes, becauſe they are too good for the *Engliſh*.

He that goes into the *Highlands* with a mind naturally acquieſcent, and a credulity eager for wonders, may come back with an opinion very different from mine; for the inhabitants, knowing the ignorance of all ſtrangers in their language and antiquities, perhaps are not very ſcrupulous adherents to truth; yet I do not ſay that they deliberately ſpeak ſtudied falſehood, or have a ſettled purpoſe to deceive. They have enquired and conſidered little, and do not always feel their own ignorance. They are not much accuſtomed to be interrogated by others: and ſeem never to have

thought upon interrogating themſelves; ſo that if they do not know what they tell to be true, they likewiſe do not diſtinctly perceive it to be falſe.

Mr. *Boſwell* was very diligent in his enquiries; and the reſult of his inveſtigations was, that the anſwer to the ſecond queſtion was commonly ſuch as nullified the anſwer to the firſt.

We were a while told, that they had an old tranſlation of the ſcriptures; and told it till it would appear obſtinacy to enquire again. Yet by continued accumulation of queſtions we found, that the tranſlation meant, if any meaning there were, was nothing elſe than the *Iriſh* Bible.

We heard of manuſcripts that were, or that had been, in the hands of ſomebody's father, or grandfather; but at laſt we had no reaſon to believe they were other than *Iriſh*. *Martin* mentions *Iriſh*, but never any *Earſe* manuſcripts, to be found in the iſlands in his time.

I ſuppoſe my opinion of the poems of *Oſſian* is already diſcovered. I believe they never exiſted in any other form than that which we have ſeen. The editor, or author, never could ſhew the original; nor can it be ſhewn by any other; to revenge reaſonable incredulity, by refuſing evidence, is a degree of inſolence, with which the world is not yet acquainted; and ſtubborn audacity is the laſt refuge of guilt. It would be eaſy to ſhew it if he had it; but whence could it be had? It is too long to be remembered, and the language formerly had nothing written. He has doubtleſs inſerted names that circulate in popular ſtories, and may have tranſlated ſome wandering

ballads,

ballads, if any can be found; and the names, and ſome of the images, being recollected, make an inaccurate auditor imagine, by the help of *Caledonian* bigotry, that he has formerly heard the whole.

I aſked a very learned miniſter in *Sky*, who had uſed all arts to make me believe the genuineneſs of the book, whether at laſt he believed it himſelf? but he would not anſwer. He wiſhed me to be deceived, for the honour of his country; but would not directly and formally deceive me. Yet has this man's teſtimony been publickly produced, as of one that held *Fingal* to be the work of *Oſſian*.

It is ſaid, that ſome men of integrity profeſs to have heard parts of it, but they all heard them when they were boys; and it was never ſaid that any of them could recite ſix lines. They remember names, and perhaps ſome proverbial ſentiments; and, having no diſtinct ideas, coin a reſemblance without an original. The perſuaſion of the *Scots*, however, is far from univerſal; and in a queſtion ſo capable of proof, why ſhould doubt be ſuffered to continue? The editor has been heard to ſay, that part of the poem was received by him, in the *Saxon* character. He has then found, by ſome peculiar fortune, an unwritten language, written in a character which the natives probably never beheld.

I have yet ſuppoſed no impoſture but in the publiſher; yet I am far from certainty, that ſome tranſlations have not been lately made, that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work. Credulity on one part is a ſtrong temptation to deceit on the other, eſpecially to deceit of which no perſonal injury is

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the consequence, and which flatters the author with his own ingenuity. The *Scots* have something to plead for their easy reception of an improbable fiction: they are seduced by their fondness for their supposed ancestors. A *Scotchman* must be a very sturdy moralist, who does not love *Scotland* better than truth; he will always love it better than enquiry: and if falsehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither ought the *English* to be much influenced by *Scotch* authority; for of the past and present state of the whole *Earse* nation, the *Lowlanders* are at least as ignorant as ourselves. To be ignorant is painful; but it is dangerous to quiet our uneasiness by the delusive opiate of hasty persuasion.

But this is the age in which those who could not read, have been supposed to write; in which the giants of antiquated romance have been exhibited as realities. If we know little of the ancient *Highlanders*, let us not fill the vacuity with *Ossian*. If we have not searched the *Magellanick* regions, let us however forbear to people them with *Patagons*.

Having waited some days at *Armidel*, we were flattered at last with a wind that promised to convey us to *Mull*. We went on board a boat that was taking in kelp, and left the isle of *Sky* behind us. We were doomed to experience, like others, the danger of trusting to the wind, which blew against us, in a short time, with such violence, that we, being no seasoned sailors, were willing to call it a tempest. I was seasick, and lay down. Mr. *Boswell* kept the deck. The master knew not well whither to go; and our difficulties might perhaps have filled a very pathetick

page, had not Mr. *Maclean* of *Col*, who, with every other qualification which inſular life requires, is a very active and ſkilful mariner, piloted us ſafe into his own harbour.

## COL.

In the morning we found ourſelves under the iſle of *Col*, where we landed; and paſſed the firſt day and night with captain *Maclean*, a gentleman who has lived ſome time in the *Eaſt Indies*, but having dethroned no Nabob, is not too rich to ſettle in his own country.

Next day the wind was fair, and we might have had an eaſy paſſage to *Mull*; but having, contrarily to our own intention, landed upon a new iſland, we would not leave it wholly unexamined. We therefore ſuffered the veſſel to depart without us, and truſted the ſkies for another wind.

Mr. *Maclean* of *Col*, having a very numerous family, has, for ſome time paſt, reſided at *Aberdeen*, that he may ſuperintend their education, and leaves the young gentleman, our friend, to govern his dominions, with the full power of a *Highland* chief. By the abſence of the laird's family, our entertainment was made more difficult, becauſe the houſe was in a great degree diſfurniſhed; but young *Col*'s kindneſs and activity ſupplied all defects, and procured us more than ſufficient accommodation.

Here I firſt mounted a little *Highland* ſteed; and if there had been many ſpectators, ſhould have been ſomewhat aſhamed of my figure in the march. The horſes of the iſlands, as of other barren countries, are

are very low: they are indeed muſculous and ſtrong, beyond what their ſize gives reaſon for expecting; but a bulky man upon one of their backs makes a very diſproportionate appearance.

From the habitation of captain *Maclean* we went to *Griſſipol*, but called by the way on Mr. *Hector Maclean*, the miniſter of *Col*, whom we found in a hut, that is, a houſe of only one floor, but with windows and chimney, and not inelegantly furniſhed. Mr. *Maclean* has the reputation of great learning: he is ſeventy-ſeven years old, but not infirm, with a look of venerable dignity, excelling what I remember in any other man.

His converſation was not unſuitable to his appearance. I loſt ſome of his good-will, by treating a heretical writer with more regard than, in his opinion, a heretick could deſerve. I honoured his orthodoxy, and did not much cenſure his aſperity. A man who has ſettled his opinions, does not love to have the tranquillity of his conviction diſturbed; and at ſeventy-ſeven it is time to be in earneſt.

Mention was made of the *Earſe* tranſlation of the New Teſtament, which has been lately publiſhed, and of which the learned Mr. *Macqueen* of *Sky* ſpoke with commendation; but Mr. *Maclean* ſaid, he did not uſe it, becauſe he could make the text more intelligible to his auditors by an extemporary verſion. From this I inferred, that the language of the tranſlation was not the language of the iſle of *Col*.

He has no publick edifice for the exerciſe of his miniſtry; and can officiate to no greater number than a room can contain; and the room of a hut is not very large. This is all the opportunity of wor-

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ſhip that is now granted to the inhabitants of the iſland, ſome of whom muſt travel thither perhaps ten miles. Two chapels were erected by their anceſtors, of which I ſaw the ſkeletons, which now ſtand faithful witneſſes of the triumph of Reformation.

The want of churches is not the only impediment to piety: there is likewiſe a want of miniſters. A pariſh often contains more iſlands than one; and each iſland can have the miniſter only in its own turn. At *Raaſay* they had, I think, a right to ſervice only every third *Sunday*. All the proviſion made by the preſent eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, for the inhabitants of about a hundred ſquare miles, is a prayer and ſermon in a little room, once in three weeks: and even this parſimonious diſtribution is at the mercy of the weather: and in thoſe iſlands where the miniſter does not reſide, it is impoſſible to tell how many weeks or months may paſs without any publick exerciſe of religion.

## GRISSIPOL IN COL.

After a ſhort converſation with Mr. *Maclean*, we went on to *Griſſipol*, a houſe and farm tenanted by Mr. *Macſweyn*, where I ſaw more of the ancient life of a *Highlander* than I had yet found. Mrs. *Macſweyn* could ſpeak no *Engliſh*, and had never ſeen any other places than the iſlands of *Sky*, *Mull*, and *Col*: but ſhe was hoſpitable and good-humoured, and ſpread her table with ſufficient liberality. We found tea here, as in every other place, but our ſpoons were of horn.

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The houſe of *Griſſipol* ſtands by a brook very clear and quick; which is, I ſuppoſe, one of the moſt copious ſtreams in the iſland. This place was the ſcene of an action, much celebrated in the traditional hiſtory of *Col*, but which probably no two relaters will tell alike.

Some time, in the obſcure ages, *Macneil* of *Barra* married the lady *Maclean*, who had the iſle of *Col* for her jointure. Whether *Macneil* detained *Col*, when the widow was dead, or whether ſhe lived ſo long as to make her heirs impatient, is perhaps not now known. The younger ſon, called *John Gerves*, or *John the Giant*, a man of great ſtrength, who was then in *Ireland*, either for ſafety or for education, dreamed of recovering his inheritance; and getting ſome adventurers together, which in thoſe unſettled times was not hard to do, invaded *Col*. He was driven away, but was not diſcouraged, and collecting new followers, in three years came again with fifty men. In his way he ſtopped at *Artorinish* in *Morvern*, where his uncle was priſoner to *Macleod*, and was then with his enemies in a tent. *Maclean* took with him only one ſervant, whom he ordered to ſtay at the outſide; and where he ſhould ſee the tent preſſed outwards, to ſtrike with his dirk; it being the intention of *Maclean*, as any man provoked him, to lay hands upon him, and puſh him back. He entered the tent alone, with his *Lochaber* axe in his hand, and ſtruck ſuch terror into the whole aſſembly, that they diſmiſſed his uncle.

When he landed at *Col*, he ſaw the ſentinel, who kept watch towards the ſea, running off to *Griſſipol*, to give *Macneil*, who was there with a hundred and

twenty

twenty men, an account of the invaſion. He told *Macgill*, one of his followers, that if he intercepted that dangerous intelligence, by catching the courier, he would give him certain lands in *Mull.* Upon this promiſe *Macgill* purſued the meſſenger, and either killed or ſtopped him; and his poſterity, till very lately, held the lands in *Mull.*

The alarm being thus prevented, he came unexpectedly upon *Macneil.* Chiefs were in thoſe days never wholly unprovided for an enemy. A fight enſued, in which one of their followers is ſaid to have given an extraordinary proof of activity, by bounding backwards over the brook of *Griſſipol. Macneil* being killed, and many of his clan deſtroyed, *Maclean* took poſſeſſion of the iſland, which the *Macneils* attempted to conquer by another invaſion, but were defeated and repulſed.

*Maclean*, in his turn, invaded the eſtate of the *Macneils*, took the caſtle of *Brecacig*, and conquered the iſle of *Barra*, which he held for ſeven years, and then reſtored it to the heirs.

## CASTLE OF COL.

From *Griſſipol* Mr. *Maclean* conducted us to his father's ſeat; a neat new houſe, erected near the old caſtle, I think, by the laſt proprietor. Here we were allowed to take our ſtation, and lived very commodiouſly, while we waited for moderate weather and a fair wind, which we did not ſo ſoon obtain, but we had time to get ſome information of the preſent ſtate of *Col*, partly by enquiry, and partly by occaſional excurſions.

*Col*

*Col* is computed to be thirteen miles in length, and three in breadth. Both the ends are the property of the duke of *Argyle*, but the middle belongs to *Maclean*, who is called *Col*, as the only laird.

*Col* is not properly rocky; it is rather one continued rock, of a ſurface much diverſified with protuberances, and covered with a thin layer of earth, which is often broken, and diſcovers the ſtone. Such a ſoil is not for plants that ſtrike deep roots; and perhaps in the whole iſland nothing has ever yet grown to the height of a table. The uncultivated parts are clothed with heath, among which induſtry has interſperſed ſpots of graſs and corn; but no attempt has been made to raiſe a tree. Young *Col*, who has a very laudable deſire of improving his patrimony, purpoſes ſome time to plant an orchard; which, if it be ſheltered by a wall, may perhaps ſucceed. He has introduced the culture of turnips, of which he has a field, where the whole work was performed by his own hand. His intention is to provide food for his cattle in the winter. This innovation was conſidered by Mr. *Macſweyn* as the idle project of a young head, heated with *Engliſh* fancies; but he has now found that turnips will really grow, and that hungry ſheep and cows will really eat them.

By ſuch acquiſitions as theſe, the *Hebrides* may in time riſe above their annual diſtreſs. Wherever heath will grow, there is reaſon to think ſomething better may draw nouriſhment; and by trying the production of other places, plants will be found ſuitable to every ſoil.

*Col*

*Col* has many lochs, ſome of which have trouts and eels, and others have never yet been ſtocked; another proof of the negligence of the iſlanders, who might take fiſh in the inland waters when they cannot go to ſea.

Their quadrupeds are horſes, cows, ſheep, and goats. They have neither deer, hares, nor rabbits. They have no vermin, except rats, which have been lately brought thither by ſea, as to other places; and are free from ſerpents, frogs, and toads.

The harveſt in *Col*, and in *Lewis*, is ripe ſooner than in *Sky*, and the winter in *Col* is never cold, but very tempeſtuous. I know not that I ever heard the wind ſo loud in any other place; and Mr. *Boſwell* obſerved that its noiſe was all its own, for there were no trees to increaſe it.

Noiſe is not the worſt effect of the tempeſts; for they have thrown the ſand from the ſhore over a conſiderable part of the land, and is ſaid ſtill to encroach and deſtroy more and more paſture; but I am not of opinion, that by any ſurveys or land-marks, its limits have been ever fixed, or its progreſſion aſcertained. If one man has confidence enough to ſay, that it advances, nobody can bring any proof to ſupport him in denying it. The reaſon why it is not ſpread to a greater extent, ſeems to be, that the wind and rain come almoſt together, and that it is made cloſe and heavy by the wet before the ſtorms can put it in motion. So thick is the bed, and ſo ſmall the particles, that if a traveller ſhould be caught by a ſudden guſt in dry weather, he would find it very difficult to eſcape with life.

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For natural curiosities I was shown only two great masses of stone, which lie loose upon the ground; one on the top of a hill, and the other at a small distance from the bottom. They certainly were never put into their present places by human strength or skill; and though an earthquake might have broken off the lower stone, and rolled it into the valley, no account can be given of the other, which lies on the hill, unless, which I forgot to examine, there be still near it some higher rock, from which it might be torn. All nations have a tradition, that their earliest ancestors were giants, and these stones are said to have been thrown up and down by a giant and his mistress. There are so many more important things, of which human knowledge can give no account, that it may be forgiven us, if we speculate no longer on two stones in *Col*.

This island is very populous. About nine-and-twenty years ago, the fencible men of *Col* were reckoned one hundred and forty, which is the sixth of eight hundred and forty; and probably some contrived to be left out of the list. The minister told us, that a few years ago the inhabitants were eight hundred, between the ages of seven and of seventy. Round numbers are seldom exact. But in this case the authority is good, and the error likely to be little. If to the eight hundred be added what the laws of computation require, they will be increased to at least a thousand; and if the dimensions of the country have been accurately related, every mile maintains more than twenty-five.

This proportion of habitation is greater than the appearance of the country ſeems to admit; for wherever the eye wanders, it ſeems much waſte and little cultivation. I am more inclined to extend the land, of which no meaſure has ever been taken, than to diminiſh the people, who have been really numbered. Let it be ſuppoſed, that a computed mile contains a mile and a half, as was commonly found true in the menſuration of the *Engliſh* roads, and we ſhall then allot nearly twelve to a mile, which agrees much better with ocular obſervation.

Here, as in *Sky*, and other iſlands, are the laird, the tackſmen, and the under-tenants.

Mr. *Maclean*, the laird, has very extenſive poſſeſſions, being proprietor, not only of far the greater part of *Col*, but of the extenſive iſland of *Rum*, and a very conſiderable territory in *Mull*.

*Rum* is one of the larger iſlands, almoſt ſquare, and therefore of great capacity in proportion to its ſides. By the uſual method of eſtimating computed extent, it may contain more than a hundred and twenty ſquare miles.

It originally belonged to *Clanronald*, and was purchaſed by *Col*; who, in ſome diſpute about the bargain, made *Clanronald* priſoner, and kept him nine months in confinement. Its owner repreſents it as mountainous, rugged, and barren. In the hills there are red deer. The horſes are very ſmall, but of a breed eminent for beauty. *Col*, not long ago, bought one of them from a tenant; who told him, that as he was of a ſhape uncommonly elegant, he could not ſell him but at a high price; and that whoever had him ſhould pay a guinea and a half.

There

There are ſaid to be in *Barra* a race of horſes yet ſmaller, of which the higheſt is not above thirty-ſix inches.

The rent of *Rum* is not great. Mr. *Maclean* declared that he ſhould be very rich, if he could ſet his land at two-pence halfpenny an acre. The inhabitants are fifty-eight families, who continued papiſts for ſome time after the laird became a proteſtant. Their adherence to their old religion was ſtrengthened by the countenance of the laird's ſiſter, a zealous *Romaniſt*, till one *Sunday*, as they were going to maſs under the conduct of their patroneſs, *Maclean* met them on the way, gave one of them a blow on the head with a *yellow ſtick*, I ſuppoſe a cane, for which the *Earſe* had no name, and drove them to the kirk, from which they have never ſince departed. Since the uſe of this method of converſion, the inhabitants of *Egg* and *Canna*, who continue papiſts, call the proteſtantiſm of *Rum*, the religion of the *Yellow Stick*.

The only popiſh iſlands are *Egg* and *Canna*. *Egg* is the principal iſland of a pariſh, in which, though he has no congregation, the proteſtant miniſter reſides. I have heard of nothing curious in it, but the cave in which a former generation of the iſlanders were ſmothered by *Macleod*.

If we had travelled with more leiſure, it had not been fit to have neglected the popiſh iſlands. Popery is favourable to ceremony; and among ignorant nations ceremony is the only preſervative of tradition. Since proteſtantiſm was extended to the ſavage parts of *Scotland*, it has perhaps been one of the chief labours of the miniſters to aboliſh ſtated

obſervances, becauſe they continued the remembrance of the former religion. We therefore, who came to hear old traditions, and ſee antiquated manners, ſhould probably have found them amongſt the papiſts.

*Canna*, the other popiſh iſland, belongs to *Clanronald.* It is ſaid not to compriſe more than twelve miles of land, and yet maintains as many inhabitants as *Rum*.

We were at *Col* under the protection of the young laird, without any of the diſtreſſes which Mr. *Pennant*, in a fit of ſimple credulity, ſeems to think almoſt worthy of an elegy by *Oſſian*. Wherever we roved, we were pleaſed to ſee the reverence with which his ſubjects regarded him. He did not endeavour to dazzle them by any magnificence of dreſs: his only diſtinction was a feather in his bonnet; but as ſoon as he appeared, they forſook their work and cluſtered about him: he took them by the hand, and they ſeemed mutually delighted. He has the proper diſpoſition of a chieftain, and ſeems deſirous to continue the cuſtoms of his houſe. The bagpiper played regularly, when dinner was ſerved, whoſe perſon and dreſs made a good appearance; and he brought no diſgrace upon the family of *Rankin*, which has long ſupplied the lairds of *Col* with hereditary muſick.

The tackſmen of *Col* ſeem to live with leſs dignity and convenience than thoſe of *Sky*; where they had good houſes, and tables not only plentiful, but delicate. In *Col* only two houſes pay the window-tax; for only two have ſix windows, which, I ſuppoſe, are the laird's and Mr. *Macſweyn*'s.

The rents have, till within ſeven years, been paid in kind, but the tenants finding that cattle and corn varied in their price, deſired for the future to give their landlord money; which, not having yet arrived at the philoſophy of commerce, they conſider as being every year of the ſame value.

We were told of a particular mode of under-tenure. The tackſman admits ſome of his inferior neighbours to the cultivation of his grounds, on condition that performing all the work, and giving a third part of the ſeed, they ſhall keep a certain number of cows, ſheep, and goats, and reap a third part of the harveſt. Thus by leſs than the tillage of two acres they pay the rent of one.

There are tenants below the rank of tackſmen, that have got ſmaller tenants under them; for in every place, where money is not the general equivalent, there muſt be ſome whoſe labour is immediately paid by daily food.

A country that has no money, is by no means convenient for beggars, both becauſe ſuch countries are commonly poor, and becauſe charity requires ſome trouble and ſome thought. A penny is eaſily given upon the firſt impulſe of compaſſion, or impatience of importunity; but few will deliberately ſearch their cupboards or their granaries to find out ſomething to give. A penny is likewiſe eaſily ſpent; but victuals, if they are unprepared, require houſe-room, and fire, and utenſils, which the beggar knows not where to find.

Yet beggars there ſometimes are, who wander from iſland to iſland. We had, in our paſſage to *Mull*, the company

company of a woman and her child, who had exhausted the charity of *Col*. The arrival of a beggar on an island is accounted a sinistrous event. Every body considers that he shall have the less for what he gives away. Their alms, I believe, is generally oatmeal.

Near to *Col* is another island called *Tir-eye*, eminent for its fertility. Though it has but half the extent of *Rum*, it is so well peopled, that there have appeared, not long ago, nine hundred and fourteen at a funeral. The plenty of this island enticed beggars to it, who seemed so burdensome to the inhabitants, that a formal compact was drawn up, by which they obliged themselves to grant no more relief to casual wanderers, because they had among them an indigent woman of high birth, whom they considered as entitled to all that they could spare. I have read the stipulation, which was indited with juridical formality, but was never made valid by regular subscription.

If the inhabitants of *Col* have nothing to give, it is not that they are oppressed by their landlord: their leases seem to be very profitable. One farmer, who pays only seven pounds a year, has maintained seven daughters and three sons, of whom the eldest is educated at *Aberdeen* for the ministry; and now, at every vacation, opens a school in *Col*.

Life is here, in some respects, improved beyond the condition of some other islands. In *Sky* what is wanted can only be bought, as the arrival of some wandering pedler may afford an opportunity; but in *Col* there is a standing shop, and in *Mull* there are two. A shop in the islands, as in other places of little

frequentation, is a repoſitory of every thing requiſite for common uſe. Mr. *Boſwell*'s journal was filled, and he bought ſome paper in *Col*. To a man that ranges the ſtreets of *London*, where he is tempted to contrive wants for the pleaſure of ſupplying them, a ſhop affords no image worthy of attention; but in an iſland, it turns the balance of exiſtence between good and evil. To live in perpetual want of little things, is a ſtate not indeed of torture, but of conſtant vexation. I have in *Sky* had ſome difficulty to find ink for a letter; and if a woman breaks her needle, the work is at a ſtop.

As it is, the iſlanders are obliged to content themſelves with ſuccedaneous means for many common purpoſes. I have ſeen the chief man of a very wide diſtrict riding with a halter for a bridle, and governing his hobby with a wooden curb.

The people of *Col*, however, do not want dexterity to ſupply ſome of their neceſſities. Several arts which make trades, and demand apprenticeſhips in great cities, are here the practices of daily œconomy. In every houſe candles are made, both moulded and dipped. Their wicks are ſmall ſhreds of linen cloth. They all know how to extract from the cuddy oil for their lamps. They all tan ſkins, and make brogues.

As we travelled through *Sky*, we ſaw many cottages, but they very frequently ſtood ſingle on the naked ground. In *Col*, where the hills opened a place convenient for habitation, we found a petty village, of which every hut had a little garden adjoining; thus they made an appearance of ſocial commerce and mutual offices, and of ſome attention to convenience

and

and future supply. There is not in the *Western Islands* any collection of buildings that can make pretensions to be called a town, except in the isle of *Lewis*, which I have not seen.

If *Lewis* is distinguished by a town, *Col* has also something peculiar. The young laird has attempted what no islander perhaps ever thought on. He has begun a road capable of a wheel-carriage. He has carried it about a mile, and will continue it by annual elongation from his house to the harbour.

Of taxes here is no reason for complaining; they are paid by a very easy composition. The *malt-tax* for *Col* is twenty shillings. Whisky is very plentiful: there are several stills in the island, and more is made than the inhabitants consume.

The great business of insular policy is now to keep the people in their own country. As the world has been let in upon them, they have heard of happier climates, and less arbitrary government; and if they are disgusted, have emissaries among them ready to offer them land and houses, as a reward for deserting their chief and clan. Many have departed both from the main of *Scotland*, and from the islands; and all that go may be considered as subjects lost to the *British* crown; for a nation scattered in the boundless regions of *America* resembles rays diverging from a focus. All the rays remain, but the heat is gone. Their power consisted in their concentration: when they are dispersed, they have no effect.

It may be thought that they are happier by the change; but they are not happy as a nation, for they are a nation no longer. As they contribute not to

the proſperity of any community, they muſt want that ſecurity, that dignity, that happineſs, whatever it be, which a proſperous community throws back upon individuals.

The inhabitants of *Col* have not yet learned to be weary of their heath and rocks, but attend their agriculture and their dairies, without liſtening to *American* ſeducements.

There are ſome however who think that this emigration has raiſed terror diſproportionate to its real evil; and that it is only a new mode of doing what was always done. The *Highlands*, they ſay, never maintained their natural inhabitants; but the people, when they found themſelves too numerous, inſtead of extending cultivation, provided for themſelves by a more compendious method, and ſought better fortune in other countries. They did not indeed go away in collective bodies, but withdrew inviſibly, a few at a time; but the whole number of fugitives was not leſs, and the difference between other times and this, is only the ſame as between evaporation and effuſion.

This is plauſible, but I am afraid it is not true. Thoſe who went before, if they were not ſenſibly miſſed, as the argument ſuppoſes, muſt have gone either in leſs number, or in a manner leſs detrimental, than at preſent; becauſe formerly there was no complaint. Thoſe who then left the country were generally the idle dependants on overburdened families, or men who had no property; and therefore carried away only themſelves. In the preſent eagerneſs of emigration, families, and almoſt communities, go away together. Thoſe who were conſidered as proſ-

perous and wealthy, ſell their ſtock and carry away the money. Once none went away but the uſeleſs and poor; in ſome parts there is now reaſon to fear, that none will ſtay but thoſe who are too poor to remove themſelves, and too uſeleſs to be removed at the coſt of others.

Of antiquity there is not more knowledge in *Col* than in other places; but every where ſomething may be gleaned.

How ladies were portioned, when there was no money, it would be difficult for an *Engliſhman* to gueſs. In 1649, *Maclean* of *Dronart* in *Mull* married his ſiſter *Fingala* to *Maclean* of *Col*, with a hundred and eighty kine; and ſtipulated, that if ſhe became a widow, her jointure ſhould be three hundred and ſixty. I ſuppoſe ſome proportionate tract of land was appropriated to their paſturage.

The diſpoſition to pompous and expenſive funerals, which has at one time or other prevailed in moſt parts of the civilized world, is not yet ſuppreſſed in the iſlands, though ſome of the ancient ſolemnities are worn away, and ſingers are no longer hired to attend the proceſſion. Nineteen years ago, at the burial of the laird of *Col*, were killed thirty cows, and about fifty ſheep. The number of the cows is poſitively told, and we muſt ſuppoſe other victuals in like proportion.

Mr. *Maclean* informed us of an old game, of which he did not tell the original, but which may perhaps be uſed in other places, where the reaſon of it is not yet forgot. At New-year's eve, in the hall or caſtle of the laird, where, at feſtal ſeaſons, there may be ſuppoſed a very numerous company, one man

 dreſſes

dreſſes himſelf in a cow's hide, upon which other men beat with ſticks. He runs with all this noiſe round the houſe, which all the company quits in a counterfeited fright: the door is then ſhut. At New-year's eve there is no great pleaſure to be had out of doors in the *Hebrides*. They are ſure ſoon to recover from their terrour enough to ſolicit for re-admiſſion; which, for the honour of poetry, is not to be obtained but by repeating a verſe, with which thoſe that are knowing and provident take care to be furniſhed.

Very near the houſe of *Maclean* ſtands the caſtle of *Col*, which was the manſion of the laird, till the houſe was built. It is built upon a rock, as Mr. *Boſwell* remarked, that it might not be mined. It is very ſtrong, and having been not long uninhabited, is yet in repair. On the wall was, not long ago, a ſtone with an inſcription, importing, that *if any man of the clan of* Maclonich *ſhall appear before this caſtle, though he come at midnight, with a man's head in his hand, he ſhall there find ſafety and protection againſt all but the king.*

This is an old *Highland* treaty made upon a very memorable occaſion. *Maclean*, the ſon of *John Gerves*, who recovered *Col*, and conquered *Barra*, had obtained, it is ſaid, from *James* the Second, a grant of the lands of *Lochiel*, forfeited, I ſuppoſe, by ſome offence againſt the ſtate.

Forfeited eſtates were not in thoſe days quietly reſigned; *Maclean*, therefore, went with an armed force to ſeize his new poſſeſſions, and I know not for what reaſon, took his wife with him. The *Camerons* roſe in defence of their chief, and a battle

was

was fought at the head of *Loch Neſs*, near the place where *Fort Auguſtus* now ſtands, in which *Lochiel* obtained the victory, and *Maclean*, with his followers, was defeated and deſtroyed.

The lady fell into the hands of the conquerors, and being found pregnant was placed in the cuſtody of *Maclonich*, one of a tribe or family branched from *Cameron*, with orders, if ſhe brought a boy, to deſtroy him, if a girl, to ſpare her.

*Maclonich*'s wife, who was with child likewiſe, had a girl about the ſame time at which lady *Maclean* brought a boy; and *Maclonich*, with more generoſity to his captive, than fidelity to his truſt, contrived that the children ſhould be changed.

*Maclean* being thus preſerved from death, in time recovered his original patrimony; and in gratitude to his friend, made his caſtle a place of refuge to any of the clan that ſhould think himſelf in danger; and as a proof of reciprocal confidence, *Maclean* took upon himſelf and his poſterity the care of educating the heir of *Maclonich*.

This ſtory, like all other traditions of the *Highlands*, is variouſly related; but though ſome circumſtances are uncertain, the principal fact is true. *Maclean* undoubtedly owed his preſervation to *Maclonich*; for the treaty between the two families has been ſtrictly obſerved: it did not ſink into diſuſe and oblivion, but continued in its full force while the chieftains retained their power. I have read a demand of protection, made not more than thirty-ſeven years ago, for one of the *Maclonichs*, named *Ewen Cameron*, who had been acceſſory to the death of *Macmartin*, and had been banifhed

banifhed by *Lochiel*, his lord, for a certain term; at the expiration of which he returned married from *France*; but the *Macmartins*, not fatisfied with the punifhment, when he attempted to fettle, ftill threaten-ed him with vengeance. He therefore afked, and ob-tained, fhelter in the ifle of *Col*.

The power of protection fubfifts no longer; but what the law permits is yet continued, and *Maclean* of *Col* now educates the heir of *Maclonich*.

There ftill remains in the iflands, though it is paf-fing faft away, the cuftom of fofterage. A laird, a man of wealth and eminence, fends his child, either male or female, to a tackfman, or tenant, to be fof-tered. It is not always his own tenant, but fome diftant friend, that obtains this honour; for an honour fuch a truft is very reafonably thought. The terms of fofterage feem to vary in different iflands. In *Mull*, the father fends with his child a certain num-ber of cows, to which the fame number is added by the fofterer. The father appropriates a proportion-able extent of ground, without rent, for their paftur-age. If every cow brings a calf, half belongs to the fofterer, and half to the child; but if there be only one calf between two cows, it is the child's, and when the child returns to the parents, it is accompanied by all the cows given, both by the father and by the fof-terer, with half of the increafe of the ftock by pro-pagation. Thefe beafts are confidered as a portion, and called *Macalive* cattle, of which the father has the produce, but is fuppofed not to have the full property, but to owe the fame number to the child, as a portion to the daughter, or a ftock for the fon.

Children

Children continue with the fosterer perhaps six years, and cannot, where this is the practice, be considered as burdensome. The fosterer, if he gives four cows, receives likewise four, and has, while the child continues with him, grass for eight without rent, with half the calves, and all the milk, for which he pays only four cows when he dismisses his *dalt*, for that is the name for a fostered child.

Fosterage is, I believe, sometimes performed upon more liberal terms. Our friend, the young laird of *Col*, was fostered by *Macsweyn* of *Grissipol*. *Macsweyn* then lived a tenant to Sir *James Macdonald* in the isle of *Sky*; and therefore *Col*, whether he sent him cattle or not, could grant him no land. The *dalt*, however, at his return, brought back a considerable number of *Macalive* cattle, and of the friendship so formed there have been good effects. When *Macdonald* raised his rents, *Macsweyn* was, like other tenants, discontented, and, resigning his farm, removed from *Sky* to *Col*, and was established at *Grissipol*.

These observations we made by favour of the contrary wind that drove us to *Col*, an island not often visited; for there is not much to amuse curiosity, or to attract avarice.

The ground has been hitherto, I believe, used chiefly for pasturage. In a district, such as the eye can command, there is a general herdsman, who knows all the cattle of the neighbourhood, and whose station is upon a hill, from which he surveys the lower grounds; and if one man's cattle invade another's grass, drives them back to their own borders. But other means of profit begin to be found; kelp is gathered and burnt,

burnt, and ſloops are loaded with the concreted aſhes. Cultivation is likely to be improved by the ſkill and encouragement of the preſent heir, and the inhabitants of thoſe obſcure vallies will partake of the general progreſs of life.

The rents of the parts which belong to the duke of *Argyle*, have been raiſed from fifty-five to one hundred and five pounds, whether from the land or the ſea I cannot tell. The bounties of the ſea have lately been ſo great, that a farm in *Southuiſt* has riſen in ten years from a rent of thirty pounds to one hundred and eighty.

He who lives in *Col*, and finds himſelf condemned to ſolitary meals, and incommunicable reflection, will find the uſefulneſs of that middle order of tackſmen, which ſome who applaud their own wiſdom are wiſhing to deſtroy. Without intelligence man is not ſocial, he is only gregarious; and little intelligence will there be, where all are conſtrained to daily labour, and every mind muſt wait upon the hand.

After having liſtened for ſome days to the tempeſt, and wandered about the iſland till our curioſity was ſatisfied, we began to think about our departure. To leave *Col* in *October* was not very eaſy. We however found a ſloop which lay on the coaſt to carry kelp; and for a price which we thought levied upon our neceſſities, the maſter agreed to carry us to *Mull*, whence we might readily paſs back to *Scotland*.

## M U L L.

As we were to catch the firſt favourable breath, we ſpent the night not very elegantly nor pleaſantly

in

in the veſſel, and were landed next day at *Tabor Morar*, a port in *Mull*, which appears to an unexperienced eye formed for the ſecurity of ſhips; for its mouth is cloſed by a ſmall iſland, which admits them through narrow channels into a baſon ſufficiently capacious. They are indeed ſafe from the ſea, but there is a hollow between the mountains, through which the wind iſſues from the land with very miſchievous violence.

There was no danger while we were there, and we found ſeveral other veſſels at anchor; ſo that the port had a very commercial appearance.

The young laird of *Col*, who had determined not to let us loſe his company, while there was any difficulty remaining, came over with us. His influence ſoon appeared; for he procured us horſes, and conducted us to the houſe of doctor *Maclean*, where we found very kind entertainment and very pleaſing converſation. Miſs *Maclean*, who was born, and had been bred at *Glaſgow*, having removed with her father to *Mull*, added to other qualifications, a great knowledge of the *Earſe* language, which ſhe had not learned in her childhood, but gained by ſtudy, and was the only interpreter of *Earſe* poetry that I could ever find.

The iſle of *Mull* is perhaps in extent the third of the *Hebrides*. It is not broken by waters, nor ſhot into promontories, but is a ſolid and compact maſs, of breadth nearly equal to its length. Of the dimenſions of the larger iſlands, there is no knowledge approaching to exactneſs. I am willing to eſtimate it as containing about three hundred ſquare miles.

*Mull*

*Mull* had ſuffered like *Sky* by the black winter of ſeventy-one, in which, contrary to all experience, a continued froſt detained the ſnow eight weeks upon the ground. Againſt a calamity never known, no proviſion had been made, and the people could only pine in helpleſs miſery. One tenant was mentioned, whoſe cattle periſhed to the value of three hundred pounds; a loſs which probably more than the life of man is neceſſary to repair. In countries like theſe, the deſcriptions of famine become intelligible. Where by vigorous and artful cultivation of a ſoil naturally fertile, there is commonly a ſuperfluous growth both of grain and graſs; where the fields are crowded with cattle; and where every hand is able to attract wealth from a diſtance, by making ſomething that promotes eaſe, or gratifies vanity, a dear year produces only a comparative want, which is rather ſeen than felt, and which terminates commonly in no worſe effect, than that of condemning the lower orders of the community to ſacrifice a little luxury to convenience, or at moſt a little convenience to neceſſity.

But where the climate is unkind, and the ground penurious, ſo that the moſt fruitful years produce only enough to maintain themſelves; where life unimproved, and unadorned, fades into ſomething little more than naked exiſtence, and every one is buſy for himſelf, without any arts by which the pleaſure of others may be increaſed; if to the daily burden of diſtreſs any additional weight be added, nothing remains but to deſpair and die. In *Mull* the diſappointment of a harveſt, or a murrain among the cattle, cuts off the regular proviſion; and they who have

have no manufactures can purchase no part of the superfluities of other countries. The consequence of a bad season is here not scarcity, but emptiness; and they whose plenty was barely a supply of natural and present need, when that slender stalk fails, must perish with hunger.

All travel has its advantages. If the passenger visits better countries, he may learn to improve his own, and if fortune carries him to worse, he may learn to enjoy it.

Mr. *Boswell*'s curiosity strongly impelled him to survey *Iona*, or *Icolmkill*, which was to the early ages the great school of theology, and is supposed to have been the place of sepulture for the ancient kings. I, though less eager, did not oppose him.

That we might perform this expedition, it was necessary to traverse a great part of *Mull*. We passed a day at Dr. *Maclean*'s, and could have been well contented to stay longer. But *Col* provided us horses, and we pursued our journey. This was a day of inconvenience, for the country is very rough, and my horse was but little. We travelled many hours through a track, black and barren, in which, however, there were the reliques of humanity; for we found a ruined chapel in our way.

It is natural, in traversing this gloom of desolation, to enquire, whether something may not be done to give nature a more cheerful face, and whether those hills and moors that afford heath cannot with a little care and labour bear something better? The first thought that occurs is to cover them with trees, for that in many of these naked regions trees will grow, is evident, because stumps and roots are yet remaining;

and

and the ſpeculatiſt haſtily proceeds to cenſure that negligence and lazineſs that has omitted for ſo long a time ſo eaſy an improvement.

To drop ſeeds into the ground, and attend their growth, requires little labour and no ſkill. He who remembers that all the woods, by which the wants of man have been ſupplied from the Deluge till now, were ſelf-ſown, will not eaſily be perſuaded to think all the art and preparation neceſſary, which the georgick writers preſcribe to planters. Trees certainly have covered the earth with very little culture. They wave their tops among the rocks of *Norway*, and might thrive as well in the *Highlands* and *Hebrides*.

But there is a frightful interval between the ſeed and timber. He that calculates the growth of trees, has the unwelcome remembrance of the ſhortneſs of life driven hard upon him. He knows that he is doing what will never benefit himſelf; and when he rejoices to ſee the ſtem riſe, is diſpoſed to repine that another ſhall cut it down.

Plantation is naturally the employment of a mind unburdened with care, and vacant to futurity, ſaturated with preſent good, and at leiſure to derive gratification from the proſpect of poſterity. He that pines with hunger, is in little care how others ſhall be fed. The poor man is ſeldom ſtudious to make his grandſon rich. It may be ſoon diſcovered, why in a place, which hardly ſupplies the cravings of neceſſity, there has been little attention to the delights of fancy, and why diſtant convenience is unregarded, where the thoughts are turned with inceſſant

inceſſant ſolicitude upon every poſſibility of immediate advantage.

Neither is it quite ſo eaſy to raiſe large woods, as may be conceived. Trees intended to produce timber muſt be ſown where they are to grow; and ground ſown with trees muſt be kept uſeleſs for a long time, incloſed at an expence from which many will be diſcouraged by the remoteneſs of the profit, and watched with that attention, which, in places where it is moſt needed, will neither be given nor bought. That it cannot be plowed is evident: and if cattle be ſuffered to graze upon it, they will devour the plants as faſt as they riſe. Even in coarſer countries, where herds and flocks are not fed, not only the deer and the wild goats will browſe upon them, but the hare and rabbit will nibble them. It is therefore reaſonable to believe, what I do not remember any naturaliſt to have remarked, that there was a time when the world was very thinly inhabited by beaſts, as well as men, and that the woods had leiſure to riſe high before animals had bred numbers ſufficient to intercept them.

Sir *James Macdonald*, in part of the waſtes of his territory, ſet or ſowed trees, to the number, as I have been told, of ſeveral millions, expecting, doubtleſs, that they would grow up into future navies and cities; but for want of incloſure, and of that care which is always neceſſary, and will hardly ever be taken, all his coſt and labour have been loſt, and the ground is likely to continue an uſeleſs heath.

Having not any experience of a journey in *Mull*, we had no doubt of reaching the ſea by day-light,


and

and therefore had not left Dr. *Maclean*'s very early. We travelled diligently enough, but found the country, for road there was none, very difficult to paſs. We were always ſtruggling with ſome obſtruction or other, and our vexation was not balanced by any gratification of the eye or mind. We were now long enough acquainted with hills and heath to have loſt the emotion that they once raiſed, whether pleaſing or painful, and had our mind employed only on our own fatigue. We were however ſure, under *Col*'s protection, of eſcaping all real evils. There was no houſe in *Mull* to which he could not introduce us. He had intended to lodge us, for that night, with a gentleman that lived upon the coaſt, but diſcovered on the way, that he then lay in bed without hope of life.

We reſolved not to embarraſs a family, in a time of ſo much ſorrow, if any other expedient could be found; and as the iſland of *Ulva* was over-againſt us, it was determined that we ſhould paſs the ſtrait and have recourſe to the laird, who, like the other gentlemen of the iſlands, was known to *Col*. We expected to find a ferry-boat, but when at laſt we came to the water, the boat was gone.

We were now again at a ſtop. It was the ſixteenth of *October*, a time when it is not convenient to ſleep in the *Hebrides* without a cover, and there was no houſe within our reach, but that which we had already declined.

## U L V A.

While we ſtood deliberating, we were happily eſpied from an *Iriſh* ſhip, that lay at anchor in the

ſtrait. The maſter ſaw that we wanted a paſſage, and with great civility ſent us his boat, which quickly conveyed us to *Ulva*, where we were very liberally entertained by Mr. *Macquarry*.

To *Ulva* we came in the dark, and left it before noon the next day. A very exact deſcription therefore will not be expected. We were told, that it is an iſland of no great extent, rough and barren, inhabited by the *Macquarrys*; a clan not powerful nor numerous, but of antiquity, which moſt other families are content to reverence. The name is ſuppoſed to be a depravation of ſome other; for the *Earſe* language does not afford it any etymology. *Macquarry* is proprietor both of *Ulva* and ſome adjacent iſlands, among which is *Staffa*, ſo lately raiſed to renown by Mr. *Banks*.

When the iſlanders were reproached with their ignorance, or inſenſibility of the wonders of *Staffa*, they had not much to reply. They had indeed conſidered it little, becauſe they had always ſeen it; and none but philoſophers, nor they always, are ſtruck with wonder, otherwiſe than by novelty. How would it ſurpriſe an unenlightened ploughman, to hear a company of ſober men, enquiring by what power the hand toſſes a ſtone, or why the ſtone, when it is toſſed, falls to the ground!

Of the anceſtors of *Macquarry*, who thus lie hid in his unfrequented iſland, I have found memorials in all places where they could be expected.

Enquiring after the reliques of former manners, I found that in *Ulva*, and, I think, no where elſe, is continued the payment of the *mercheta mulierum*; a fine in old times due to the laird at the marriage of a vir-

gin. The original of this claim, as of our tenure of *borough Engliſh*, is variouſly delivered. It is pleaſant to find ancient cuſtoms in old families. This payment, like others, was, for want of money, made anciently in the produce of the land. *Macquarry* was uſed to demand a ſheep, for which he now takes a crown, by that inattention to the uncertain proportion between the value and the denomination of money, which has brought much diſorder into *Europe*. A ſheep has always the ſame power of ſupplying human wants, but a crown will bring at one time more, at another leſs.

*Ulva* was not neglected by the piety of ancient times; it has ſtill to ſhow what was once a church.

## INCH KENNETH.

In the morning we went again into the boat, and were landed on *Inch Kenneth*, an iſland about a mile long, and perhaps half a mile broad, remarkable for pleaſantneſs and fertility. It is verdant and graſſy, and fit both for paſture and tillage; but it has no trees. Its only inhabitants were Sir *Allan Maclean* and two young ladies, his daughters, with their ſervants.

Romance does not often exhibit a ſcene that ſtrikes the imagination more than this little deſert in theſe depths of weſtern obſcurity, occupied not by a groſs herdſman, or amphibious fiſherman, but by a gentleman and two ladies, of high birth, poliſhed manners, and elegant converſation, who, in a habitation raiſed not very far above the ground, but furniſhed with unexpected neatneſs and convenience, practiſed all the kindneſs of hoſpitality, and refinement of courteſy.

Sir

Sir *Allan* is the chieftain of the great clan of *Maclean*, which is ſaid to claim the ſecond place among the *Highland* families, yielding only to *Macdonald*. Though by the miſconduct of his anceſtors, moſt of the extenſive territory, which would have deſcended to him, has been alienated, he ſtill retains much of the dignity and authority of his birth. When ſoldiers were lately wanting for the *American* war, application was made to Sir *Allan*, and he nominated a hundred men for the ſervice, who obeyed the ſummons, and bore arms under his command.

He had then, for ſome time, reſided with the young ladies in *Inch Kenneth*, where he lives not only with plenty, but with elegance, having conveyed to his cottage a collection of books, and what elſe is neceſſary to make his hours pleaſant.

When we landed, we were met by Sir *Allan* and the ladies, accompanied by Miſs *Macquarry*, who had paſſed ſome time with them, and now returned to *Ulva* with her father.

We all walked together to the manſion, where we found one cottage for Sir *Allan*, and I think two more for the domeſticks and the offices. We entered, and wanted little that palaces afford. Our room was neatly floored, and well lighted; and our dinner, which was dreſſed in one of the other huts, was plentiful and delicate.

In the afternoon Sir *Allan* reminded us, that the day was *Sunday*, which he never ſuffered to paſs without ſome religious diſtinction, and invited us to partake in his acts of domeſtick worſhip; which I hope neither Mr. *Boſwell* nor myſelf will be ſuſ-

pected of a difpofition to refufe. The elder of the ladies read the *Englifh* fervice.

*Inch Kenneth* was once a feminary of ecclefiafticks, fubordinate, I fuppofe, to *Icolmkill*. Sir *Allan* had a mind to trace the foundation of the college, but neither I nor Mr. *Bofwell*, who *bends* a keener *eye on vacancy*, were able to perceive them.

Our attention, however, was fufficiently engaged by a venerable chapel, which ftands yet entire, except that the roof is gone. It is about fixty feet in length, and thirty in breadth. On one fide of the altar is a bas-relief of the bleffed Virgin, and by it lies a little bell; which, though cracked, and without a clapper, has remained there for ages, guarded only by the venerablenefs of the place. The ground round the chapel is covered with grave-ftones of chiefs and ladies; and ftill continues to be a place of fepulture.

*Inch Kenneth* is a proper prelude to *Icolmkill*. It was not without fome mournful emotion that we contemplated the ruins of religious ftructures, and the monuments of the dead.

On the next day we took a more diftinct view of the place, and went with the boat to fee oyfters in the bed, out of which the boat-men forced up as many as were wanted. Even *Inch Kenneth* has a fubordinate ifland, named *Sandiland*, I fuppofe in contempt, where we landed, and found a rock, with a furface of perhaps four acres, of which one is naked ftone, another fpread with fand and fhells, fome of which I picked up for their gloffy beauty, and two covered with a little earth and grafs, on which Sir *Allan* has a few

few ſheep. I doubt not but when there was a college at *Inch Kenneth*, there was a hermitage upon *Sandiland*.

Having wandered over thoſe extenſive plains, we committed ourſelves again to the winds and waters; and after a voyage of about ten minutes, in which we met with nothing very obſervable, were again ſafe upon dry ground.

We told Sir *Allan* our deſire of viſiting *Icolmkill*, and entreated him to give us his protection, and his company. He thought proper to heſitate a little; but the ladies hinted, that as they knew he would not finally refuſe, he would do better if he preſerved the grace of ready compliance. He took their advice, and promiſed to carry us on the morrow in his boat.

We paſſed the remaining part of the day in ſuch amuſements as were in our power. Sir *Allan* related the *American* campaign, and at evening one of the ladies played on her harpſichord, while *Col* and Mr. *Boſwell* danced a *Scottiſh* reel with the other.

We could have been eaſily perſuaded to a longer ſtay upon *Inch Kenneth*, but life will not be all paſſed in delight. The ſeſſion at *Edinburgh* was approaching, from which Mr. *Boſwell* could not be abſent.

In the morning our boat was ready: it was high and ſtrong. Sir *Allan* victualled it for the day, and provided able rowers. We now parted from the young laird of *Col*, who had treated us with ſo much kindneſs, and concluded his favours by conſigning us to Sir *Allan*. Here we had the laſt embrace of this amiable man, who, while theſe pages were preparing to atteſt his

his virtues, perifhed in the paffage between *Ulva* and *Inch Kenneth*.

Sir *Allan*, to whom the whole region was well known, told us of a very remarkable cave, to which he would fhow us the way. We had been difappointed already by one cave, and were not much elevated by the expectation of another.

It was yet better to fee it, and we ftopped at fome rocks on the coaft of *Mull*. The mouth is fortified by vaft fragments of ftone, over which we made our way, neither very nimbly, nor very fecurely. The place, however, well repaid our trouble. The bottom, as far as the flood rufhes in, was encumbered with large pebbles, but as we advanced was fpread over with fmooth fand. The breadth is about forty-five feet: the roof rifes in an arch, almoft regular, to a height which we could not meafure; but I think it about thirty feet.

This part of our curiofity was nearly fruftrated; for though we went to fee a cave, and knew that caves are dark, we forgot to carry tapers, and did not difcover our omiffion till we were wakened by our wants. Sir *Allan* then fent one of the boatmen into the country, who foon returned with one little candle. We were thus enabled to go forward, but could not venture far. Having paffed inward from the fea to a great depth, we found on the right hand a narrow paffage, perhaps not more than fix feet wide, obftructed by great ftones, over which we climbed, and came into a fecond cave in breadth twenty-five feet. The air in this apartment was very warm, but not oppreffive, nor loaded with vapours. Our light fhowed no

tokens

tokens of a feculent or corrupted atmofphere. Here was a fquare ftone, called, as we are told, *Fingal*'s *table*.

If we had been provided with torches, we fhould have proceeded in our fearch, though we had already gone as far as any former adventurer, except fome who are reported never to have returned; and meafuring our way back, we found it more than a hundred and fixty yards, the eleventh part of a mile.

Our meafures were not critically exact, having been made with a walking pole, fuch as it is convenient to carry in thefe rocky countries, of which I gueffed the length by ftanding againft it. In this there could be no great error, nor do I much doubt but the *Highlander*, whom we employed, reported the number right. More nicety however is better, and no man fhould travel unprovided with inftruments for taking heights and diftances.

There is yet another caufe of error not always eafily furmounted, though more dangerous to the veracity of itinerary narratives, than imperfect menfuration. An obferver deeply impreffed by any remarkable fpectacle, does not fuppofe, that the traces will foon vanifh from his mind, and having commonly no great convenience for writing, defers the defcription to a time of more leifure and better accommodation.

He who has not made the experiment, or who is not accuftomed to require rigorous accuracy from himfelf, will fcarcely believe how much a few hours take from certainty of knowledge, and diftinctnefs of imagery; how the fucceffion of objects will be broken, how feparate parts will be confufed, and how many

particular

particular features and difcriminations will be compreffed and conglobated into one grofs and general idea.

To this dilatory notation muft be imputed the falfe relations of travellers, where there is no imaginable motive to deceive. They trufted to memory what cannot be trufted fafely but to the eye, and told by guefs what a few hours before they had known with certainty. Thus it was that *Wheeler* and *Spen* defcribed with irreconcilable contrariety things which they furveyed together, and which both undoubtedly defigned to fhow as they faw them.

When we had fatisfied our curiofity in the cave, fo far as our penury of light permitted us, we clambered again to our boats, and proceeded along the coaft of *Mull* to a headland, called *Atun*, remarkable for the columnar form of the rocks, which rife in a feries of pilafters, with a degree of regularity, which Sir *Allan* thinks not lefs worthy of curiofity, than the fhore of *Staffa*.

Not long after we came to another range of black rocks, which had the appearance of broken pilafters, fet one behind another to a great depth. This place was chofen by Sir *Allan* for our dinner. We were eafily accommodated with feats, for the ftones were of all heights, and refrefhed ourfelves and our boatmen, who could have no other reft till we were at *Icolmkill*.

The evening was now approaching, and we were yet at a confiderable diftance from the end of our expedition. We could therefore ftop no more to make remarks in the way, but fet forward with fome degree

of eagerneſs. The day ſoon failed us, and the moon preſented a very ſolemn and pleaſing ſcene. The ſky was clear, ſo that the eye commanded a wide circle: the ſea was neither ſtill nor turbulent; the wind neither ſilent nor loud. We were never far from one coaſt or another, on which, if the weather had become violent, we could have found ſhelter, and therefore contemplated at eaſe the region through which we glided in the tranquillity of the night, and ſaw now a rock and now an iſland grow gradually conſpicuous and gradually obſcure. I committed the fault which I have juſt been cenſuring, in neglecting, as we paſſed, to note the ſeries of this placid navigation.

We were very near an iſland, called *Nun's Iſland*, perhaps from an ancient convent. Here is ſaid to have been dug the ſtone which was uſed in the buildings of *Icolmkill.* Whether it is now inhabited we could not ſtay to enquire.

At laſt we came to *Icolmkill*, but found no convenience for landing. Our boat could not be forced very near the dry ground, and our *Highlanders* carried us over the water.

We were now treading that illuſtrious iſland, which was once the luminary of the *Caledonian* regions, whence ſavage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the bleſſings of religion. To abſtract the mind from all local emotion would be impoſſible, if it were endeavoured, and would be fooliſh, if it were poſſible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our ſenſes; whatever makes the paſt, the diſtant, or the future predominate over the preſent, advances us in the

the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be ſuch frigid philoſophy, as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wiſdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whoſe patriotiſm would not gain force upon the plain of *Marathon*, or whoſe piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of *Iona*.

We came too late to viſit monuments: ſome care was neceſſary for ourſelves. Whatever was in the iſland, Sir *Allan* could demand, for the inhabitants were *Macleans*; but having little they could not give us much. He went to the headman of the iſland, whom fame, but fame delights in amplifying, repreſents as worth no leſs than fifty pounds. He was perhaps proud enough of his gueſts, but ill prepared for our entertainment; however, he ſoon produced more proviſion than men not luxurious require. Our lodging was next to be provided. We found a barn well ſtocked with hay, and made our beds as ſoft as we could.

In the morning we roſe and ſurveyed the place. The churches of the two convents are both ſtanding, though unroofed. They were built of unhewn ſtone, but ſolid, and not inelegant. I brought away rude meaſures of the buildings, ſuch as I cannot much truſt myſelf, inaccurately taken, and obſcurely noted. Mr. *Pennant's* delineations, which are doubtleſs exact, have made my unſkilful deſcription leſs neceſſary.

The epiſcopal church conſiſts of two parts, ſeparated by the belfry, and built at different times. The original church had, like others, the altar at one end,

and tower at the other; but as it grew too ſmall, another building of equal dimenſion was added, and the tower then was neceſſarily in the middle.

That theſe edifices are of different ages ſeems evident. The arch of the firſt church is *Roman*, being part of a circle; that of the additional building is pointed, and therefore *Gothick* or *Saracenical*; the tower is firm, and wants only to be floored and covered.

Of the chambers or cells belonging to the monks, there are ſome walls remaining, but nothing approaching to a complete apartment.

The bottom of the church is ſo encumbered with mud and rubbiſh, that we could make no diſcoveries of curious inſcriptions, and what there are have been already publiſhed. The place is ſaid to be known where the black ſtones lie concealed, on which the old *Highland* chiefs, when they made contracts and alliances, uſed to take the oath, which was conſidered as more ſacred than any other obligation, and which could not be violated without the blackeſt infamy. In thoſe days of violence and rapine, it was of great importance to impreſs upon ſavage minds the ſanctity of an oath, by ſome particular and extraordinary circumſtances. They would not have recourſe to the black ſtones, upon ſmall or common occaſions, and when they had eſtabliſhed their faith by this tremendous ſanction, inconſtancy and treachery were no longer feared.

The chapel of the nunnery is now uſed by the inhabitants as a kind of general cow-houſe, and the bottom is conſequently too miry for examination. Some

of

of the ftones which covered the later abbeffes have infcriptions, which might yet be read, if the chapel were cleanfed. The roof of this, as of all the other buildings, is totally deftroyed, not only becaufe timber quickly decays when it is neglected, but becaufe in an ifland utterly deftitute of wood, it was wanted for ufe, and was confequently the firft plunder of needy rapacity.

The chancel of the nuns' chapel is covered with an arch of ftone, to which time has done no injury; and a fmall apartment communicating with the choir, on the north fide, like the chapter-houfe in cathedrals, roofed with ftone in the fame manner, is likewife entire.

In one of the churches was a marble altar, which the fuperftition of the inhabitants has deftroyed. Their opinion was, that a fragment of this ftone was a defence againft fhipwrecks, fire, and mifcarriages. In one corner of the church the bafon for holy water is yet unbroken.

The cemetery of the nunnery was, till very lately, regarded with fuch reverence, that only women were buried in it. Thefe reliques of veneration always produce fome mournful pleafure. I could have forgiven a great injury more eafily than the violation of this imaginary fanctity.

South of the chapel ftand the walls of a large room, which was probably the hall, or refectory of the nunnery. This apartment is capable of repair. Of the reft of the convent there are only fragments.

Befides the two principal churches, there are, I think, five chapels yet ftanding, and three more remembered.

membered. There are alſo croſſes, of which two bear the names of St. *John* and St. *Matthew*.

A large ſpace of ground about theſe conſecrated edifices is covered with grave-ſtones, few of which have any inſcription. He that ſurveys it, attended by an inſular antiquary, may be told where the kings of many nations are buried, and if he loves to ſooth his imagination with the thoughts that naturally riſe in places where the great and the powerful lie mingled with the duſt, let him liſten in ſubmiſſive ſilence; for if he aſks any queſtions, his delight is at an end.

*Iona* has long enjoyed, without any very credible atteſtation, the honour of being reputed the cemetery of the *Scottiſh* kings. It is not unlikely, that, when the opinion of local ſanctity was prevalent, the chieftains of the iſles, and perhaps ſome of the *Norwegian* or *Iriſh* princes, were repoſited in this venerable incloſure. But by whom the ſubterraneous vaults are peopled is now utterly unknown. The graves are very numerous, and ſome of them undoubtedly contain the remains of men, who did not expect to be ſo ſoon forgotten.

Not far from this awful ground may be traced the garden of the monaſtery: the fiſhponds are yet diſcernible, and the aqueduct which ſupplied them is ſtill in uſe.

There remains a broken building, which is called the Biſhop's Houſe, I know not by what authority. It was once the reſidence of ſome man above the common rank, for it has two ſtories and a chimney. We were ſhewn a chimney at the other end, which was only a niche, without perforation, but ſo much

does antiquarian credulity, or patriotick vanity prevail, that it was not much more ſafe to truſt the eye of our inſtructor than the memory.

There is in the iſland one houſe more, and only one, that has a chimney; we entered it, and found it neither wanting repair nor inhabitants; but to the farmers, who now poſſeſs it, the chimney is of no great value; for their fire was made on the floor, in the middle of the room, and notwithſtanding the dignity of their manſion, they rejoiced, like their neighbours, in the comforts of ſmoke.

It is obſerved, that eccleſiaſtical colleges are always in the moſt pleaſant and fruitful places. While the world allowed the monks their choice, it is ſurely no diſhonour that they choſe well. This iſland is remarkably fruitful. The village near the churches is ſaid to contain ſeventy families, which, at five in a family, is more than a hundred inhabitants to a mile. There are perhaps other villages; yet both corn and cattle are annually exported.

But the fruitfulneſs of *Iona* is now its whole proſperity. The inhabitants are remarkably groſs, and remarkably neglected: I know not if they are viſited by any miniſter. The iſland, which was once the metropolis of learning and piety, has now no ſchool for education, nor temple for worſhip, only two inhabitants that can ſpeak *Engliſh*, and not one that can write or read.

The people are of the clan of *Maclean*; and though Sir *Allan* had not been in the place for many years, he was received with all the reverence due to their chieftain. One of them being ſharply reprehended by him, for not ſending him ſome rum,

declared

declared after his departure, in Mr. *Boswell*'s presence, that he had no design of disappointing him, *for*, said he, *I would cut my bones for him; and if he had sent his dog for it, he should have had it.*

When we were to depart, our boat was left by the ebb at a great distance from the water, but no sooner did we wish it afloat, than the islanders gathered round it, and, by the union of many hands, pushed it down the beach; every man who could contribute his help seemed to think himself happy in the opportunity of being, for a moment, useful to his chief.

We now left those illustrious ruins, by which Mr. *Boswell* was much affected, nor would I willingly be thought to have looked upon them without some emotion. Perhaps, in the revolutions of the world, *Iona* may be sometime again the instructress of the western regions.

It was no long voyage to *Mull*, where, under Sir *Allan*'s protection, we landed in the evening, and were entertained for the night by Mr. *Maclean*, a minister that lives upon the coast, whose elegance of conversation, and strength of judgment, would make him conspicuous in places of greater celebrity. Next day we dined with Dr. *Maclean*, another physician, and then travelled on to the house of a very powerful laird, *Maclean* of *Lochbuy*; for in this country every man's name is *Maclean*.

Where races are thus numerous, and thus combined, none but the chief of a clan is addressed by his name. The laird of *Dunvegan* is called *Macleod*, but other gentlemen of the same family are denominated by the places where they reside, as *Raasay* or

or *Talisker*. The distinction of the meaner people is made by their christian names. In consequence of this practice, the late laird of *Macfarlane*, an eminent genealogist, considered himself as disrespectfully treated, if the common addition was applied to him. Mr. *Macfarlane*, said he, may with equal propriety be said to many; but I, and I only, am *Macfarlane*.

Our afternoon journey was through a country of such gloomy desolation, that Mr. *Boswell* thought no part of the *Highlands* equally terrifick, yet we came without any difficulty, at evening, to *Lochbuy*, where we found a true *Highland* laird, rough and haughty, and tenacious of his dignity; who, hearing my name, enquired whether I was of the *Johnstones* of *Glencoe*, or of *Ardnamurchan*?

*Lochbuy* has, like the other insular chieftains, quitted the castle that sheltered his ancestors, and lives near it, in a mansion not very spacious or splendid. I have seen no houses in the islands much to be envied for convenience or magnificence, yet they bear testimony to the progress of arts and civility, as they shew that rapine and surprise are no longer dreaded, and are much more commodious than the ancient fortresses.

The castles of the *Hebrides*, many of which are standing, and many ruined, were always built upon points of land, on the margin of the sea. For the choice of this situation there must have been some general reason, which the change of manners has left in obscurity. They were of no use in the days of piracy, as defences of the coast; for it was equally accessible in other places. Had they been

sea-

ſea-marks or light-houſes, they would have been of more uſe to the invader than the natives, who could want no ſuch directions on their own waters: for a watch-tower, a cottage on a hill would have been better, as it would have commanded a wider view.

If they be conſidered merely as places of retreat, the ſituation ſeems not well choſen; for the laird of an iſland is ſafeſt from foreign enemies in the center: on the coaſt he might be more ſuddenly ſurpriſed than in the inland parts; and the invaders, if their enterpriſe miſcarried, might more eaſily retreat. Some convenience, however, whatever it was, their poſition on the ſhore afforded; for uniformity of practice ſeldom continues long without good reaſon.

A caſtle in the iſlands is only a ſingle tower of three or four ſtories, of which the walls are ſometimes eight or nine feet thick, with narrow windows, and cloſe winding ſtairs of ſtone. The top riſes in a cone, or pyramid of ſtone, encompaſſed by battlements. The intermediate floors are ſometimes frames of timber, as in common houſes, and ſometimes arches of ſtone, or alternately ſtone and timber; ſo that there was very little danger from fire. In the center of every floor, from top to bottom, is the chief room, of no great extent, round which there are narrow cavities, or receſſes formed by ſmall vacuities, or by a double wall. I know not whether there be ever more than one fire-place. They had not capacity to contain many people, or much proviſion; but their enemies could ſeldom ſtay to blockade them; for if they failed in their firſt attack, their next care was to eſcape.

The walls were always too ſtrong to be ſhaken by ſuch deſultory hoſtilities; the windows were too narrow to be entered, and the battlements too high to be ſcaled. The only danger was at the gates, over which the wall was built with a ſquare cavity, not unlike a chimney, continued to the top. Through this hollow the defendants let fall ſtones upon thoſe who attempted to break the gate, and poured down water, perhaps ſcalding water, if the attack was made with fire. The caſtle of *Lochbuy* was ſecured by double doors, of which the outer was an iron grate.

In every caſtle is a well and a dungeon. The uſe of the well is evident. The dungeon is a deep ſubterraneous cavity, walled on the ſides, and arched on the top, into which the deſcent is through a narrow door, by a ladder or a rope, ſo that it ſeems impoſſible to eſcape, when the rope or ladder is drawn up. The dungeon was, I ſuppoſe, in war, a priſon for ſuch captives as were treated with ſeverity; and in peace, for ſuch delinquents as had committed crimes within the laird's juriſdiction; for the manſions of many lairds were, till the late privation of their privileges, the halls of juſtice to their own tenants.

As theſe fortifications were the productions of mere neceſſity, they are built only for ſafety, with little regard to convenience, and with none to elegance or pleaſure. It was ſufficient for a laird of the *Hebrides*, if he had a ſtrong houſe, in which he could hide his wife and children from the next clan. That they are not large nor ſplendid is no wonder. It is not eaſy to find how they are raiſed, ſuch as they

they are, by men who had no money, in countries where the labourers and artificers could ſcarcely be fed. The buildings in different parts of the iſlands ſhew their degrees of wealth and power. I believe that for all the caſtles which I have ſeen beyond the *Tweed*, the ruins yet remaining of ſome one of thoſe which the *Engliſh* built in *Wales*, would ſupply materials.

Theſe caſtles afford another evidence that the fictions of romantick chivalry had for their baſis the real manners of the feudal times, when every lord of a ſeignory lived in his hold lawleſs and unaccountable, with all the licentiouſneſs and inſolence of unconteſted ſuperiority and unprincipled power. The traveller, whoever he might be, coming to the fortified habitation of a chieftain, would, probably, have been interrogated from the battlements, admitted with caution at the gate, introduced to a petty monarch, fierce with habitual hoſtility, and vigilant with ignorant ſuſpicion; who, according to his general temper, or accidental humour, would have ſeated a ſtranger as his gueſt at the table, or as a ſpy confined him in the dungeon.

*Lochbuy* means the *Yellow Lake*, which is the name given to an inlet of the ſea, upon which the caſtle of Mr. *Maclean* ſtands. The reaſon of the appellation we did not learn.

We were now to leave the *Hebrides*, where we had ſpent ſome weeks with ſufficient amuſement, and where we had amplified our thoughts with new ſcenes of nature, and new modes of life. More time would have given us a more diſtinct view, but it was neceſſary that Mr. *Boſwell* ſhould re-

turn before the courts of juſtice were opened; and it was not proper to live too long upon hoſpitality, however liberally imparted.

Of theſe iſlands it muſt be confeſſed, that they have not many allurements, but to the mere lover of naked nature. The inhabitants are thin, proviſions are ſcarce, and deſolation and penury give little pleaſure.

The people collectively conſidered are not few, though their numbers are ſmall in proportion to the ſpace which they occupy. *Mull* is ſaid to contain ſix thouſand, and *Sky* fifteen thouſand. Of the computation reſpecting *Mull*, I can give no account; but when I doubted the truth of the numbers attributed to *Sky*, one of the miniſters exhibited ſuch facts as conquered my incredulity.

Of the proportion which the product of any region bears to the people, an eſtimate is commonly made according to the pecuniary price of the neceſſaries of life; a principle of judgment which is never certain, becauſe it ſuppoſes, what is far from truth, that the value of money is always the ſame, and ſo meaſures an unknown quantity by an uncertain ſtandard. It is competent enough when the markets of the ſame country, at different times, and thoſe times not too diſtant, are to be compared; but of very little uſe for the purpoſe of making one nation acquainted with the ſtate of another. Proviſions, though plentiful, are ſold in places of great pecuniary opulence for nominal prices, to which, however ſcarce, where gold and ſilver are yet ſcarcer, they can never be raiſed.

In

In the *Western Islands* there is so little internal commerce, that hardly any thing has a known or settled rate. The price of things brought in, or carried out, is to be considered as that of a foreign market; and even this there is some difficulty in discovering, because their denominations of quantity are different from ours; and when there is ignorance on both sides, no appeal can be made to a common measure.

This, however, is not the only impediment. The *Scots*, with a vigilance of jealousy which never goes to sleep, always suspect that an *Englishman* despises them for their poverty, and to convince him that they are not less rich than their neighbours, are sure to tell him a price higher than the true. When *Lesley*, two hundred years ago, related so punctiliously, that a hundred hen eggs, new laid, were sold in the islands for a penny, he supposed that no inference could possibly follow, but that eggs were in great abundance. Posterity has since grown wiser; and having learned, that nominal and real value may differ, they now tell no such stories, lest the foreigner should happen to collect, not that eggs are many, but that pence are few.

Money and wealth have, by the use of commercial language, been so long confounded, that they are commonly supposed to be the same; and this prejudice has spread so widely in *Scotland*, that I know not whether I found man or woman, whom I interrogated concerning payments of money, that could surmount the illiberal desire of deceiving me, by representing every thing as dearer than it is.

 From

From *Lochbuy* we rode a very few miles to the ſide of *Mull*, which faces *Scotland*, where, having taken leave of our kind protector, Sir *Allan*, we embarked in a boat, in which the ſeat provided for our accommodation was a heap of rough bruſhwood; and on the twenty-ſecond of *October* repoſed at a tolerable inn on the main land.

On the next day we began our journey ſouthwards. The weather was tempeſtuous. For half the day the ground was rough, and our horſes were ſtill ſmall. Had they required much reſtraint, we might have been reduced to difficulties; for I think we had amongſt us but one bridle. We fed the poor animals liberally, and they performed their journey well. In the latter part of the day we came to a firm and ſmooth road, made by the ſoldiers, on which we travelled with great ſecurity, buſied with contemplating the ſcene about us. The night came on while we had yet a great part of the way to go, though not ſo dark, but that we could diſcern the cataracts which poured down the hills on one ſide, and fell into one general channel that ran with great violence on the other. The wind was loud, the rain was heavy, and the whiſtling of the blaſt, the fall of the ſhower, the ruſh of the cataracts, and the roar of the torrent, made a nobler chorus of the rough muſick of nature than it had ever been my chance to hear before. The ſtreams which ran acroſs the way from the hills to the main current, were ſo frequent, that after a while I began to count them; and, in ten miles, reckoned fifty-five, probably miſſing ſome, and having let ſome

paſs

paſs before they forced themſelves upon my notice. At laſt we came to *Inverary*, where we found an inn, not only commodious, but magnificent.

The difficulties of peregrination were now at an end. Mr. *Boſwell* had the honour of being known to the duke of *Argyle*, by whom we were very kindly entertained at his ſplendid ſeat, and ſupplied with conveniencies for ſurveying his ſpacious park and riſing foreſts.

After two days ſtay at *Inverary* we proceeded ſouthward over *Glencroe*, a black and dreary region, now made eaſily paſſable by a military road, which riſes from either end of the *glen* by an acclivity not dangerouſly ſteep, but ſufficiently laborious. In the middle, at the top of the hill, is a ſeat with this inſcription, *Reſt, and be thankful.* Stones were placed to mark the diſtances, which the inhabitants have taken away, reſolved, they ſaid, *to have no new miles.*

In this rainy ſeaſon the hills ſtreamed with waterfalls, which, croſſing the way, formed currents on the other ſide, that ran in contrary directions as they fell to the north or ſouth of the ſummit. Being, by the favour of the duke, well mounted, I went up and down the hill with great convenience.

From *Glencroe* we paſſed through a pleaſant country to the banks of *Loch Lomond*, and were received at the houſe of Sir *James Colquhoun*, who is owner of almoſt all the thirty iſlands of the loch, which we went in a boat next morning to ſurvey. The heavineſs of the rain ſhortened our voyage, but we landed on one iſland planted with yew, and ſtocked with deer, and on another containing perhaps

haps not more than half an acre, remarkable for the ruins of an old caſtle, on which the oſprey builds her annual neſt. Had *Loch Lomond* been in a happier climate, it would have been the boaſt of wealth and vanity to own one of the little ſpots which it incloſes, and to have employed upon it all the arts of embelliſhment. But as it is, the iſlets, which court the gazer at a diſtance, diſguſt him at his approach, when he finds, inſtead of ſoft lawns and ſhady thickets, nothing more than uncultivated ruggedneſs.

Where the loch diſcharges itſelf into a river called the *Leven*, we paſſed a night with Mr. *Smollet*, a relation of doctor *Smollet*, to whoſe memory he has raiſed an obeliſk on the bank near the houſe in which he was born. The civility and reſpect which we found at every place, it is ungrateful to omit, and tedious to repeat. Here we were met by a poſt-chaiſe, that conveyed us to *Glaſgow*.

To deſcribe a city ſo much frequented as *Glaſgow*, is unneceſſary. The proſperity of its commerce appears by the greatneſs of many private houſes, and a general appearance of wealth. It is the only epiſcopal city whoſe cathedral was left ſtanding in the rage of Reformation. It is now divided into many ſeparate places of worſhip, which, taken all together, compoſe a great pile, that had been ſome centuries in building, but was never finiſhed; for the change of religion intercepted its progreſs, before the croſs iſle was added, which ſeems eſſential to a *Gothick* cathedral.

The college has not had a ſufficient ſhare of the increaſing magnificence of the place. The ſeſſion

was begun; for it commences on the tenth of *October*, and continues to the tenth of *June*, but the ſtudents appeared not numerous, being, I ſuppoſe, not yet returned from their ſeveral homes. The diviſion of the academical year into one ſeſſion, and one receſs, ſeems to me better accommodated to the preſent ſtate of life, than that variegation of time by terms and vacations, derived from diſtant centuries, in which it was probably convenient, and ſtill continued in the *Engliſh* univerſities. So many ſolid months as the *Scotch* ſcheme of education joins together, allow and encourage a plan for each part of the year; but with us, he that has ſettled himſelf to ſtudy in the college is ſoon tempted into the country, and he that has adjuſted his life in the country, is ſummoned back to his college.

Yet when I have allowed to the univerſities of *Scotland* a more rational diſtribution of time, I have given them, ſo far as my enquiries have informed me, all that they can claim. The ſtudents, for the moſt part, go thither boys, and depart before they are men; they carry with them little fundamental knowledge, and therefore the ſuperſtructure cannot be lofty. The grammar-ſchools are not generally well ſupplied; for the character of a ſchool-maſter being there leſs honourable than in *England*, is ſeldom accepted by men who are capable to adorn it, and where the ſchool has been deficient, the college can effect little.

Men bred in the univerſities of *Scotland* cannot be expected to be often decorated with the ſplendours of ornamental erudition, but they obtain a mediocrity of knowledge, between learning and ignorance,

ignorance, not inadequate to the purposes of common life, which is, I believe, very widely diffused among them, and which, countenanced in general by a national combination so invidious, that their friends cannot defend it, and actuated in particulars by a spirit of enterprise, so vigorous, that their enemies are constrained to praise it, enables them to find, or to make their way to employment, riches, and distinction.

From *Glasgow* we directed our course to *Auchinleck*, an estate devolved, through a long series of ancestors, to Mr. *Boswell*'s father, the present possessor. In our way we found several places remarkable enough in themselves, but already described by those who viewed them at more leisure, or with much more skill; and stopped two days at Mr. *Campbell*'s, a gentleman married to Mr. *Boswell*'s sister.

*Auchinleck*, which signifies a *stony field*, seems not now to have any particular claim to its denomination. It is a district generally level, and sufficiently fertile, but, like all the western side of *Scotland*, incommoded by very frequent rain. It was, with the rest of the country, generally naked, till the present possessor finding, by the growth of some stately trees near his old castle, that the ground was favourable enough to timber, adorned it very diligently with annual plantations.

Lord *Auchinleck*, who is one of the judges of *Scotland*, and therefore not wholly at leisure for domestick business or pleasure, has yet found time to make improvements in his patrimony. He has built a house of hewn stone, very stately and durable,

able, and has advanced the value of his lands with great tenderneſs to his tenants.

I was, however, leſs delighted with the elegance of the modern manſion, than with the ſullen dignity of the old caſtle. I clambered with Mr. *Boſwell* among the ruins, which afford ſtriking images of ancient life. It is, like other caſtles, built upon a point of rock, and was, I believe, anciently ſurrounded with a moat. There is another rock near it, to which the draw-bridge, when it was let down, is ſaid to have reached. Here, in the ages of tumult and rapine, the laird was ſurpriſed and killed by the neighbouring chief, who perhaps might have extinguiſhed the family, had he not in a few days been ſeized and hanged, together with his ſons, by *Douglas*, who came with his forces to the relief of *Auchinleck*.

At no great diſtance from the houſe runs a pleaſing brook, by a red rock, out of which has been hewn a very agreeable and commodious ſummer-houſe, at leſs expence, as lord *Auchinleck* told me, than would have been required to build a room of the ſame dimenſions. The rock ſeems to have no more dampneſs than any other wall. Such opportunities of variety it is judicious not to neglect.

We now returned to *Edinburgh*, where I paſſed ſome days with men of learning, whoſe names want no advancement from my commemoration, or with women of elegance, which perhaps diſclaims a pedant's praiſe.

The converſation of the *Scots* grows every day leſs unpleaſing to the *Engliſh*; their peculiarities wear faſt away; their dialect is likely to become in half

half a century provincial and ruſtick, even to themſelves. The great, the learned, the ambitious, and the vain, all cultivate the *Engliſh* phraſe, and the *Engliſh* pronunciation, and in ſplendid companies *Scotch* is not much heard, except now and then from an old lady.

There is one ſubject of philoſophical curioſity to be found in *Edinburgh*, which no other city has to ſhew; a college of the deaf and dumb, who are taught to ſpeak, to read, to write, and to practiſe arithmetick, by a gentleman, whoſe name is *Braidwood*. The number which attends him is, I think, about twelve, which he brings together into a little ſchool, and inſtructs according to their ſeveral degrees of proficiency.

I do not mean to mention the inſtruction of the deaf as new. Having been firſt practiced upon the ſon of a conſtable of *Spain*, it was afterwards cultivated with much emulation in *England*, by *Wallis* and *Holder*, and was lately profeſſed by Mr. *Baker*, who once flattered me with hopes of ſeeing his method publiſhed. How far any former teachers have ſucceeded, it is not eaſy to know; the improvement of Mr. *Braidwood*'s pupils is wonderful. They not only ſpeak, write, and underſtand what is written, but if he that ſpeaks looks towards them, and modifies his organs by diſtinct and full utterance, they know ſo well what is ſpoken, that it is an expreſſion ſcarcely figurative to ſay, they hear with the eye. That any have attained to the power mentioned by *Burnet*, of feeling ſounds, by laying a hand on the ſpeaker's mouth, I known not; but I have ſeen ſo much, that I can believe more;

a ſingle

a single word, or a short sentence, I think, may possibly be so distinguished.

It will readily be supposed by those that consider this subject, that Mr. *Braidwood*'s scholars spell accurately. Orthography is vitiated among such as learn first to speak, and then to write, by imperfect notions of the relation between letters and vocal utterance; but to those students every character is of equal importance; for letters are to them not symbols of names, but of things; when they write they do not represent a sound, but delineate a form.

This school I visited, and found some of the scholars waiting for their master, whom they are said to receive at his entrance with smiling countenances and sparkling eyes, delighted with the hope of new ideas. One of the young ladies had her slate before her, on which I wrote a question consisting of three figures, to be multiplied by two figures. She looked upon it, and quivering her fingers in a manner which I thought very pretty, but of which I knew not whether it was art or play, multiplied the sum regularly in two lines, observing the decimal place; but did not add the two lines together, probably disdaining so easy an operation. I pointed at the place where the sum total should stand, and she noted it with such expedition as seemed to shew that she had it only to write.

It was pleasing to see one of the most desperate of human calamities capable of so much help: whatever enlarges hope, will exalt courage; after having seen the deaf taught arithmetick, who would be afraid to cultivate the *Hebrides*?

Such are the things which this journey has given me an opportunity of feeing, and fuch are the reflections which that fight has raifed. Having paffed my time almoft wholly in cities, I may have been furprifed by modes of life and appearances of nature, that are familiar to men of wider furvey and more varied converfation. Novelty and ignorance muft always be reciprocal, and I cannot but be confcious that my thoughts on national manners, are the thoughts of one who has feen but little.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.